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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA

PART 3

January to December 1954

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
Chapter I.—FRENCH MOROCCO			
General Correspondence			
1 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 8**	1954 Jan. 11	Quarterly report for period October–December 1953	1
2 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 10**	Jan. 20	Discussion of the situation in Morocco with the Resident-General ... ... Two main problems stated to be the campaign of terrorism and the attitude of Spain; recent security measures having effect against terrorists; Communists remaining aloof because of suspicion that General Franco may be involved.	5
3 Sir Oliver Harvey ... **No. 80**	Feb. 25	Impressions of French Morocco and Tunisia ... ... Relations between the United Kingdom and the French authorities in North Africa regarded as very satisfactory; French administrators half-hearted towards much-needed reforms; desirable that we should give full support to France in the United Nations for her North African policy.	6
4 Her Majesty's Consul-General **No. 14 Tel.**	Mar. 5	Bomb attempt on the life of the Sultan	9
5 Mr. Pares ... ... **No. 11**	Mar. 8	State visit by the new Sultan to Casablanca ... ... Attempt on the Sultan's life negatived the otherwise good results of the tour; general agreement that the new régime must make itself more popular amongst the Moorish population.	10
6 Mr. Eden ... ... **No. 237**	Apr. 2	Report on a visit to French Morocco and Tunisia ... ... Desirability of visits to French North Africa by members of our Paris Embassy; French policy in North Africa a matter which is outside the competence of the United Nations; opportunities should be taken of expressing to the French our approval of their efforts to introduce necessary reforms.	12
7 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 22**	Apr. 12	Quarterly report for period January–March 1954	13
8 Mr. Hartley ... **No. 41**	July 12	Report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1954	17
9 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 53**	Sept. 23	Internal situation in Morocco and the Government's policy for the introduction of reforms ... ... Situation considered to have improved throughout Morocco except in Casablanca; desire by the Resident-General for the establishment of a new atmosphere in which to establish his programme of social and economic improvements.	20
10 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 58**	Oct. 16	Political report on the French Zone of Morocco ... ... Period quarter ended September 30, 1954.	22
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
11 Mr. Freese-Pennefather **No. 16**	1954 Feb. 3	Annual report on the leading personalities	[1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
Chapter II.—SPANISH MOROCCO			
General Correspondence			
12 Mr. Pyman ... **No. 2 Tel.**	1954 Jan. 21	Tribal homage to Spain and the Spanish High Commissioner	33
13 Mr. Pyman ... **No. 19**	Apr. 1	Quarterly report for period January–March 1954	33
14 Mr. Pyman ... **No. 30**	July 5	Political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1954	36
15 Mr. Pyman ...	Oct. 5	Political report for the quarter ended September 30, 1954 ...	38
16 Mr. Pyman ... **No. 45**	Nov. 19	History and present condition of National Reform Party in Spanish Morocco ... ... Party formed in 1936 from Spanish zone members of the nationalist movement; nationalist movement broken up in 1948 by the arrest and imprisonment of its leaders; new impetus given to the National Reform Party by the deposition in the French zone of Mohammed V; Moorish nationalism now given a certain measure of encouragement by the Spanish Government.	39
Chapter III.—INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER			
General Correspondence			
17 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 1**	1954 Jan. 5	Political report for the quarter ended December 31, 1953 ... Relations between France and Spain seriously upset by the deposition of the Sultan; political activity of fanatical Nationalist Parties curbed by restrictive measures; Budget approved on the understanding that necessary corrections would be made in January; main correction to be suppression of work on the new boulevard; visit of King Idriss of Libya passes without incident.	42
18 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 4**	Jan. 20	Annual review for 1953	45
19 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 26**	Apr. 13	Political report for the quarter ended March 31, 1954	50
20 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 45**	July 7	Political report for the quarter ended June 30, 1954	53
21 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 60**	Aug. 17	Comments on the possibility of disturbances in Tangier during the month of August ... ... Belief that the worst point in the month of August has been passed; situation being watched closely by the Administrator.	57
22 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 67**	Aug. 30	Report on the likelihood of disturbances in Tangier: Passing of August 20 without incident	58
23 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 74**	Oct. 1	Political report for the quarter ended September 30, 1954 ...	59
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
24 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 97**	1954 Dec. 18	Annual report on the leading personalities	[1
25 Mr. Muntz ... **No. 98**	Dec. 20	Annual report on the heads of foreign missions	63

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
Chapter IV.—ALGERIA			
General Correspondence			
26 Tunis	1954 Apr. 13	Political review of events in Algeria for the quarter ended March 31, 1954	65
27 Mr. Wakefield-Harrey **No. 50**	Oct. 14	Quarterly political report July–September 1954	66
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
28 Mr. Wakefield-Harrey **No. 36**	1954 July 5	Annual report on the leading personalities	[1
Chapter V.—TUNISIA			
General Correspondence			
29	1954 Feb. 9	Political review of events in Tunisia ... ... Local interest mainly taken up with the Presidential election in France, a local taxation quarrel and trade union agitation for wage increases; complaints by merchants of a decline in business; threat of further action by the trades unions if wage claims were not met.	69
30 Foreign Office ... **No. 63 Intel.**	Mar. 12	Constitutional reforms in Tunisia	72
31 Mr. Williams ... **No. 21**	Mar. 12	Approval by the Bey of Tunis of a series of Governmental reforms ... ... Programme of reform negotiated in secret by the Resident-General with the Bey; reforms not received with enthusiasm by the French or Tunisians; outcome likely to depend on the year's harvest, which if good may divert attention from political affairs.	73
32 Mr. Williams ... **No. 23**	Mar. 25	Compilation of electoral rolls for the new Tunisian Consultative Assembly and the French Representative Delegation Main criticism comes from the Nationalists who believe that the method of indirect election will enable the French to control the candidates who present themselves.	76
33 Mr. Williams ... **No. 29**	Apr. 30	Review of political events in Tunisia for the three months ended April 30, 1954	77
34 Mr. Williams ... **No. 33**	May 6	Publication by the Resident-General and the President of the Council of the regulations governing the method of election to the French Delegation and to the Tunisian Consultative Assembly	80
35 Her Majesty's Consul-General **No. 17 Tel.**	May 31	Hostile reception of the Resident-General ... ... Resident-General mobbed and his resignation demanded; French presence to continue and lawlessness to be put down.	81
36 Mr. Williams ... **No. 52**	Aug. 4	Review of political events in Tunisia for the three months ended July 31, 1954	82

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
37 Mr. Williams ... **No. 56**	1954 Aug. 10	Report on the constitution of the new Government ... ... Certain post still held by French officials pending the conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian agreements; Resident-General and Prime Minister announce their intention to work for the principles of M. Mendès-France.	85
38 Mr. Williams ... **No. 69**	Oct. 30	Political review for the three months ended October 31, 1954	88
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
39 Mr. Williams ... **No. 48**	1954 July 15	Annual report on the leading personalities	[1

Subject Index

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

Algeria

Annual Report on the Leading Personalities —28.

Political Reports—26, 27.

French Morocco

Annual Report on the Leading Personalities —11.

Impressions of Morocco—3.

Political Reports—1, 7, 8, 10.

Reforms in Government—9.

Resident-General, Discussion with—2.

Sultan—
Attempt on the life of—4.
Visit of to Casablanca—5.

Visits to Morocco, Reports on—6.

Spanish Morocco

National Reform Party, Report on—16.

Political Reports—13, 14, 15.

Spanish High Commissioner, Homage to—12.

Tangier, International Zone of

Annual Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions —25.

Annual Report on the Leading Personalities —24.

Annual Review for 1953—18.

Disturbances, Comments on—21, 22.

Political Reports—17, 19, 20, 23.

Tunisia

Annual Report on the Leading Personalities —39.

Elections—
Regulations governing the method to be employed —34.

Electoral Rolls, Compilation of—32.

Government, Constitution of—37.

Political Reports—29, 33, 36, 38.

Reforms, Constitutional—30, 31.

Resident-General, Hostile Reception of—35.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA—PART 3

CHAPTER I.—FRENCH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/2

No. 1

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Period October–December 1953

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (*Received January 26*)

(No. 8. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *January 11, 1954.*

With reference to my despatch No. 85 of the 30th of September, 1953, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 31st of December, 1953. I am indebted for its preparation to Mr. Coe, Her Majesty's Consul, who was in charge of this post for almost all of the quarter under review.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, the Regional Information Counsellor in Beirut, Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca and the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

General

Unlike its predecessor, this quarter has seen no events of outstanding importance. Certain further reforms have been approved by the Sultan, but, although the appropriate dahirs have been promulgated, there is little sign so far of their effective application. Contrary to expectations and despite active instigation by the Nationalists, the 18th of November (the anniversary of the accession of ex-Sultan Mohamed Ben Youssef) passed off quietly throughout the Zone. There have been repeated acts of terrorism, but the general situation during the quarter can, nevertheless, be described as calm. The " Moroccan question " was brought before the General Assembly of the United Nations again, but the Arab-Asian *bloc* which sponsored it can have derived little satisfaction from their endeavours.

Internal

2. In the quarter under review acts of terrorism have been an almost daily occurrence and the press states that from the 16th of August up to (and including) the bomb outrage at Casablanca referred to below, the campaign has resulted in 58 deaths, 117 woundings, 87 incendiary fires and 280 arrests. The majority of the personal attacks were made on Moroccans of the poorer class who were either employed by the French authorities or who were known to have French sympathies, including a number of policemen, and were no doubt primarily designed to deter young Moroccans from entering the employ of the Protectorate authorities. There were, however, several attacks of a more general nature, when the victims could not have been known to the aggressors; they included bombs found in a cinema in Rabat, a lighted bomb tossed into a public bus near Casablanca, an attempt to derail the Casablanca–Marrakesh train, and a bomb explosion on Christmas Eve in the central market at Casablanca. This latter was the most serious outrage committed in the French Zone since the accession of Sultan Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa in August last, eighteen persons being killed and about thirty injured. It caused bitter resentment amongst the French population, but also brought forth expressions of sympathy from large numbers of Moroccans though their sincerity and the motives behind them have in some cases been doubted. A deputation of leading Moroccans in Casablanca, many of whom are known to be ardent Nationalists, called on the " Chef de Région " to

inform him, amongst other things, that in their opinion such acts were damaging to the Moroccan cause and that the perpetrators had put themselves outside the pale of Islam. Their action was followed by a letter to the " Chef de Région " from the brother-in-law of Hadj Ahmed Balafrej in which he also dissociated himself and all other true Nationalists from such acts. Early in the quarter the Director of Public Security informed Her Majesty's Consul of his pessimism in regard to the attacks which had been taking place; he was convinced that they were only the prelude to attempts on the lives of prominent French and Moroccan officials of the Protectorate. The anti-terrorist branch of his service has, however, since been very active and by the end of the quarter had achieved a considerable measure of success. Many persons directly concerned in the attacks have been arrested and complete terrorist cells have been unearthed at Marrakesh and Safi. In Fez the large numbers of arrests caused feelings to run high but it was later reported that all members of the local terrorist organisation had been identified and that the remainder of those arrested had consequently been released. General Laparra, who prides himself that the authorities in Fez have not fired a single shot since he assumed office as " Chef de Région " there in 1946, was at pains to ensure that all those arrested were well treated during the period of their detention. There is bitter resentment, mainly amongst the French, against the incitement to terrorism inspired from Egypt by Allal el Fassi and by the Egyptian Radio Service, and also against the encouragement given to the organisers of terrorism by the Spanish Government. It is felt that Allal el Fassi's declarations to the press on the subject show definitely that the Istiqlal Party is directly responsible for the outrages. A number of well-known members of the party disappeared at the end of November and it was at first thought that they had been arrested; it now appears probable, however, that they managed to leave the Zone. Recent events have made it clear that Istiqlal cells are still operating in the Zone in conjunction with the Communists but that their directives come from outside. The one-night curfew imposed in the Zone during the crisis in August was maintained at Oujda in a modified form until the 14th of October, when it was lifted altogether.

3. Friday prayers in the mosques were very poorly attended, because many Moroccans (especially in the towns) objected to the insertion of the present Sultan's name in them or feared to be openly associated with those who prayed for him. Threatening letters were addressed to Imams and other officials, and many of them were consequently afraid to carry out their duties, with the result that orders had to be issued for them to do so and police protection given to them. In Fez, refusal to obey such an order led to the removal from office of the Sultan's Khalifa, Prince Moulay Othman, and his banishment to Meknes; he is the uncle of the ex-Sultan, but had been retained in office after the latter's deposition. The situation, however, has since improved and it is reported that several of the mosques in Fez are full to overflowing.

4. There have been persistent rumours, perhaps as a result of wishful thinking by the many Moroccans who would like to see the return of the ex-Sultan, that Sultan Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa is not at all happy about his position and that he would willingly give up the Throne. He has, however, fulfilled all his obligations punctiliously and has, indeed, endeavoured by certain innovations, to widen the field of his popularity. An example of this was furnished at the end of the recent French and Moroccan sessions of the " Conseil du Gouvernement," when he invited its members to tea at the Palace—including some women amongst the French. His Majesty issued a proclamation on the occasion of the " Mouloud " in which he drew attention to the reforms which had been approved since his accession and stressed his wish that further steps should be taken to improve the lot of the poorer classes in the Zone. He subsequently held receptions which were attended by a large number of representative Moroccans, by the Resident-General and the senior officials of the Protectorate and by the Consular Corps; the Resident-General took this opportunity to present to His Majesty the insignia of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour which had been conferred upon him by the French Government.

5. Certain Moroccans who have normally been regarded as friends of France but who did not rally round the new Sultan at the time of his accession now appear gradually to be doing so. In October, Si Bekkai, the ex-Pasha of Sefrou, was reported to have made a statement to the press in Paris acknowledging his error in doubting France's motives during the August crisis; the ex-Pasha of Fez, who was deprived of office during his absence on the pilgrimage, called on the Sultan to pay homage on the occasion of the " Mouloud "; and the ex-Caid El Ayadi of the Rahemnas has now expressed his loyalty to His Majesty.

Reforms

6. By a dahir published in October the " Conseil du Gouvernement," which was instituted in 1919 by residential decree, became part of the machinery of the Shereefian State. No change was made in its functions, which are purely consultative, and this called forth strong criticism both from the press and from the delegates, who consider that their views, as expressed during the meetings of the " Conseil," should carry more weight than is at present accorded to them. The only innovations are that membership will in future be entirely by election and that the French and Moroccan sections may sit in common session.

7. In the third week of November four dahirs instituting the promised judicial reforms were promulgated; they concerned the Moroccan Penal Code, the Code of Penal Procedure, the organisation and functioning of the Moroccan judicial system and the regulations regarding the appointment, status, &c., of Moroccan judges. These reforms, which are to be brought into force by Vizirial decree as soon as practicable are designed to simplify and modernise the whole of the Moroccan judicature and to safeguard the rights of accused persons. The new Penal Code did not provide for the death penalty except in the event of an attempt (even abortive) on the life of the Sultan or a successful attempt on the life of a member of his family. In view, however, of the recent aggravation of the terrorist campaign, the Sultan asked the Oulema of Fez for their views as to the attitude of Islam towards crimes of this character. They replied in a " fetwa," based on the past writings of learned Islamic authorities, in which they made it clear that the death penalty could be imposed in the majority of such cases, but that the decision rested with the Imam (in the present case, His Majesty the Sultan). This was followed by a dahir, signed by His Majesty just before Christmas, modifying the new Moroccan Penal Code so as to make the crimes referred to punishable by death. The High Shereefian Court was authorised to apply the new penalties immediately, before the Penal Code came into force, but was directed to exercise clemency in such cases as it thought fit.

8. There has been strong criticism from the French side of most of the reforms which have been agreed to since the accession of Sultan Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa, mainly on the grounds that they do not go far enough and that they were not brought into effect immediately. In his opening speech to the " Conseil du Governement " on the 3rd of December, the Resident-General replied to the criticism by saying that the authorities had to proceed with caution in matters affecting so radically the future of the country. The reforms had been carefully studied in Paris and had been approved by His Majesty the Sultan and their basis could not now be changed, but the method of their application had still to be decided. The institution of rural " djemmas " throughout the Zone would be completed during 1954, and the date for municipal elections would be fixed as soon as the electoral lists had been compiled.

United Nations

9. The debate on the " Moroccan question " opened in the First Committee of the General Assembly on the 8th of October, but the French delegate did not attend. The Arab-Asian group presented a draft resolution censuring the French Government for its handling of the matter, but this was rejected. On the 17th of October, the Bolivian delegate tabled a new and much less objectionable resolution, which, however, contained a paragraph implying that France had made no attempt to fulfil the hopes expressed by the United Nations last year in regard to Morocco; this also was rejected. The question was subsequently debated in Plenary Session when there was a paragraph by paragraph vote. Since the operative paragraph of the resolution failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority the President ruled that the draft resolution as a whole had been rejected. The failure to obtain the adoption of any resolution on Morocco this year caused considerable despondency among the Arab-Asian *bloc*. The question was fully reported to the press in the French Zone, but there was little comment.

Communism

10. Nothing to report, except that the police discovered an attempt to reconstitute a cell in Casablanca and made some arrests. The Communist Party remains banned.

Press

11. There was much to fill the newspapers during the quarter. Although the terrorist acts in the French Zone of Morocco

were naturally given their appropriate place, they did not, with the exception of that which occurred at Casablanca on Christmas Eve, occupy much space, and world events, such as the relations between East and West, the Bermuda Conference and President Eisenhower's speech about atomic energy were given more prominence. The presidential election, the strikes and the financial and agricultural crises in France were given pride of place whenever possible.

12. During the first half of the quarter the press took every opportunity of printing news and articles derogatory to the ex-Sultan and his eldest son, designed to discredit them in the eyes of their followers and turn the latter against them. There is nothing to show that they met with any success and they now appear to have been practically abandoned.

Air Bases

13. The Spanish Government's agreement to the construction of American air bases in Spain led to some speculation and apprehension that the bases in Morocco would become redundant. It was feared that, in such an event, there would be widespread unemployment in this Zone. In order to make the position clear a communiqué was issued by the Residency on the 8th of December to the effect that only four of the bases would be completed. Those at Nouaceur, Sidi Slimane and Ben Guérir were practically finished, work at Boulhaut would be proceeded with, but the plans in regard to Djema Sahim would be abandoned.

14. The *"Ad Hoc"* Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation paid a visit of inspection of the bases early in December. Its members included two officers of the Royal Air Force and a Royal Canadian Air Force officer.

Visits

15. The most eminent visitor during the quarter was His Majesty King Idris of Libya, who arrived during the second week of November. His Majesty the Sultan made a special journey to Fez in order to meet him, and cordial messages were exchanged when the visit came to an end.

16. The French Secretaries of State for Air and for the Navy made visits of inspection in October and December respectively, and M. de Courcel, the new head of the Africa-Levant Department at the Quai d'Orsay was here for ten days in October to make contact with the Protectorate authorities. M. Cornut-Gentile, High Commissioner in French West Africa, also paid a short visit about the same time.

17. American visits were confined to those of high-ranking officers of the United States Air Force. They included General Twining, Chief of the Air Staff, General Tunner, Commanding the U.S.A.F. in Europe, General Johnson, head of Continental Air Command, and General Archie Old, Junior, who formerly commanded the 5th Air Division of the U.S.A.F. in Morocco and who is now Director of Operations Strategic Air Command, Omaha. The latter was accompanied by members of Congress.

Miscellaneous

18. There was some labour trouble during the quarter. At the end of November miners near Oued Zem came out on strike because they were dissatisfied with conditions of work and the social services provided; a few persons were injured during scuffles which occurred with the police. The strike lasted only a few days, but was followed in mid-December by a 48-hour warning strike at the port of Casablanca and in the " Régie Exploitations Industrielles Protéctorat " at Ain-Bordja and Rabat as a protest against mass dismissals of personnel and to express dissatisfaction against the management in both cases.

19. Certain changes have taken place amongst the high officials of the Protectorate. M. de Blesson, Minister Délégué at the Residency-General, left Rabat on transfer to the Quai d'Orsay towards the end of November; his successor has not yet been appointed. M. Boniface retired from his post as " Chef de Région " at Casablanca on the 1st of October and was succeeded by M. Fauquenot, formerly " Chef de Territoire " at Safi. Si Mammeri, for many years Chef du Protocol at the Palace, left Rabat when the new Sultan came to power. He returned for a few days in November, but has now finally retired to his estate in Algeria. There have been rumours that both the Resident-General and M. Hutin, the Secretary-General of the Protectorate, would soon be transferred from Rabat, but these have been denied.

20. Mr. James W. Porter arrived in Rabat at the end of November, to take up his appointment as United States Consul in succession to Mr. John Dorman, who left in September on transfer to Addis Ababa.

JM 1015/8 No. 2

DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO WITH THE RESIDENT GENERAL

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (*Received January 26*)

(No. 10. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *January 20, 1954.*

I have the honour to inform you that the Resident General received me yesterday, at my request, to discuss the general situation in Morocco. He had nothing new or unexpected to say and the conversation was somewhat desultory.

2. General Guillaume opened by saying that the two main problems were obviously the campaign of terrorism and the attitude of Spain. Although he certainly would not suggest that Spain was aiding the terrorists directly, her general policy since the deposition of the ex-Sultan had created an atmosphere which gave the terrorists and their masters plenty of encouragement. The Arabic newspapers in the Spanish Zone, and some Spanish papers too, had gone out of their way to embarrass the French here; and the gathering of tribal leaders which was now taking place in Tetuan was a gratuitous insult and dangerous in its possible repercussions. He did not see what advantages the Spaniards were seeking to gain for themselves, since the true interests of all Western Powers lay in securing the defence of the Mediterranean for which peace in North Africa was an essential ingredient; possibly they wished to make a show of their friendship towards the Arab League and its policy, or to impress on their Latin American friends the importance of their political rôle in Europe.

3. With regard to the terrorist campaign, General Guillaume thought that it was being directed from a central headquarters, probably at Casablanca, but the Protectorate authorities had not yet discovered where it was, despite the many arrests which they had successfully made of the actual perpetrators of the crimes. The cells which they had unearthed showed that their organisation was of the efficient Communist type and it was evident that the extremists and the Communists were working together: he made, however, a clear distinction between the group who were involved in the present terrorist campaign and members of the Istiqlal Party generally, in that he did not think the latter would approve it as an instrument of policy. It was different with the Nationalist extremists and others in Cairo who were doing all they could to encourage it, and it seemed significant that they had apparently called off the campaign in Tunis for the time being in order to concentrate their endeavours and pubic attention on Morocco. I asked General Guillaume whether he had evidence of any material aid being sent from abroad in the form of arms or ammunition and he said there was none so far. Their arms had been purchased locally from people who were glad to sell them (including Americans in a few cases) or from members of crews of visiting ships.

4. I asked General Guillaume whether he expected the attacks by terrorists to be extended to Europeans. He replied that it was impossible to make any forecast and that the decision rested with the directing body. Hitherto, however, their objectives appeared to have been twofold, to frighten young Moroccans from joining the services of the Protectorate, such as the police and others, and to discourage Moroccans generally from playing the part they would have to play to make the new reforms effective, such as by participating in elections to municipal councils. When reforms had been presented to the former Sultan it had always been the policy of the Istiqlal to dissuade him from signing them not only on account of their intrinsic provisions but in order to prevent the approval of any measures which might show Franco-Moroccan co-operation to be a possible achievement: now that the reforms were about to be brought into effect, they were equally intent on showing that Franco-Moroccan co-operation could not be secured in sufficient measure for their implementation. General Guillaume had no reason to think that the extremists proposed to extend their activities any further at present, and they presumably realised how far more serious the reactions of public opinion abroad would be if they began to assassinate Europeans. He thought, however, that despite recent successes in effecting arrests, it would take many months to put an end to the terrorists' activities.

5. In a conversation which Mr. Coe recently had with M. Dutheil, Director of Public Security, the latter confirmed that his services were having a considerable measure of success in tracking down the assailants in the terrorist attacks which have been taking place here. Arrests were only now being made when definite evidence was available about the complicity of those concerned. Those arrested were usually willing (*sic*) to talk and thus implicate others, with the result that there was now a steady influx of persons who were almost certainly guilty. M. Dutheil did not volunteer the number actually under arrest, but he did say that at least 30 per cent. of them were liable to the death penalty. Mr. Coe asked M. Dutheil whether the local Spanish Communists were in any way connected with the terrorist campaign. M. Dutheil did not think so; in fact, his information indicated that they were deliberately remaining aloof because they suspected that General Franco might be involved in it. He thought, moreover, that they would even be prepared to work for him against the organisation if he asked them to do so.

6. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis. Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York, and the British Middle East Office at Beirut.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

JF 1892/1 No. 3

IMPRESSIONS OF FRENCH MOROCCO AND TUNISIA

Sir Oliver Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received February 27)

(No. 80. Confidential) *Paris,*
Sir, *February 25, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note by Mr. A. L. Mayall of this Embassy giving his impressions of French Morocco and Tunisia following a short visit which he paid at the beginning of this month to these two countries. The attitude of the local French administrators and of the colons which he describes gives at first sight some cause for alarm but I doubt whether there is any need for worry on this score in the near future provided the attitude of the Metropolitan Government in France remains firm.

2. It is comforting to hear that our own relations with the French authorities in North Africa are good and I can confirm this from many sources in Paris itself.

3. The half-hearted attitude of French administrators towards the much needed reforms in both Morocco and Tunisia is lamentable and I agree with Mr. Mayall's conclusion that we should do all we legitimately can to encourage them along the path of wise reform in order to establish Franco-Morrocan and Franco-Tunisian relations on a more permanent and more solid basis than they are at present. I also agree that it is to our interest to give the French Government our full support in the meantime at the United Nations and elsewhere for their North African policy.

4. Mr. Mayall has spoken to me of the kindness and assistance afforded to him by Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Rabat and Tunis and Her Majesty's Consuls in Casablanca and Fez during his visit. He has also paid a tribute to the presence of mind of Flight Lieutenant Wilkinson and Master Navigator Sabourin, the pilot and navigator of the R.A.F. Transport Command aircraft lent to the Air Attaché for this trip, particularly when the aircraft was struck by lightning near Rabat and when it was forced to land at Nice in a storm without any aids from the French meteorological service, the members of which were at that time on strike.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat and Tunis.

I have, &c.

OLIVER HARVEY.

Notes on a Tour of French North Africa

It is some fifteen months since a member of this Embassy carried out a tour of French Morocco and during those fifteen months considerable changes have taken place culminating in the successful deposition of the Sultan without undue disorder and the accession of Sidi Mohamed Ben Arafa. Outside French North Africa British and American support for French policy in that area has undoubtedly calmed French fears of any intervention by the United Nations in territory which the French themselves regard as purely domestic and the provocative speeches of the Spanish High Commissioner in the Spanish Zone of Morocco have hardly ruffled the French administrators on the spot. It would be natural therefore to assume that in these circumstances the French administrators would have felt able and ready to press on with their much-heralded reforms. This, however, has not been the case.

The success—at any rate until now—of the French *coup* in securing the deposition of the obstructive Sultan and the accession of their own nominee at the cost of relatively little disorder in the country, coupled with their success in persuading the United States Government to toe the line, has if anything hardened the attitude of the more reactionary elements both inside the French administration and among those who control the politics of the country. The phrase which is heard repeated in one form or another from Casablanca to Tunis by French civilian officials, generals, *Chefs de Région,* and a multitude of others is: "Nous y sommes et nous y resterons." And the underlying implication is that there will be little change in the fundamental shape of the existing administration. The attitude of the French officials, in the towns at least, is completely different from that, say, of a British District Commissioner in the Sudan. There is no love of the Moroccans among whom these French officials work although lip-service is from time to time paid in the form of genial references to individual Moroccans. The general atmosphere is that the Moroccans are a tiresome problem which has to be dealt with in order to permit legitimate French business interests to get on with their work of making money and at the same time, but rather as a by-product, developing the country generally, development from which the Moroccans naturally benefit to some extent as well. M. Fauquenot, the *Chef de Région* of Casablanca, is, however, a notable exception to this general rule and makes no secret of the fact that he has great difficulty in imposing his views on his colleagues. He holds the revolutionary theory that terrorism, which appears now to be virtually confined to Casablanca, is a social ill and has social causes; until these causes are rooted out terrorism will continue. Casablanca is growing so fast that none of its population has any roots. The newly arrived inhabitants come from the mountains and the country thinking that they will make their fortunes, are eventually disgusted with what they find and can think of no better way of expressing their indignation than to indulge in terrorist activities. M. Fauquenot is convinced that something must be done to educate them and to enable them to find an outlet for that education, *i.e.,* to create jobs in which Moroccans could be employed. The normal reaction of French administrators to terrorism is that it should be stamped out as quickly and as efficiently as possible, that the guilty should be punished and that the rest will learn from this moral lesson.

There is no doubt that for the time being the French are perfectly able to maintain themselves in Morocco. There is also no doubt that whatever the motives which prompt the *colons* and the industrialists in Metropolitan France, vast material benefits are being brought to the country. It is not, however, certain that such a system can be perpetuated. The French businessman devotes a dangerously small proportion of his profits to assuring the welfare of the Moroccans on whom he must ultimately depend. Education is certainly provided, but unless outlets are found for the educated Moroccan to make use of his talents such education is merely an incitement to subversion. Such views are, of course, brushed aside by the majority of French administrators. If the parallel of India is mentioned a French official well reply that all was not over in India yet, that when Mr. Nehru dies we will see the folly of our ways, &c., that good government is better than self-government, &c. However, it is perhaps of interest that M. Fauquenot, who succeeded M. Bonniface as Prefect of Casablanca, was promoted over the heads of several senior colleagues and it is also perhaps of interest that General d'Hauteville, the *Chef de Région* at Marrakech related in confidence that he had himself strongly advised the Resident General to make the appointment. There is thus evidence that doubts exist in the minds of at any rate some French officials of the wisdom of the old-time colonial school of thought.

As far as Tunisia is concerned, very much the same atmosphere prevails among the French officials but the conditions are different. The country is much poorer than Morocco; the people more civilised and at the same time more decadent. Lack of water is their main problem coupled with the demographic crisis which inevitably results from the suppression of the normal limitations imposed on any increase in population by war, famine and disease. However, in Tunis the French officials seem more conscious of the needs of the population and of the country. Even more important, one at least of the Tunisian Ministers—Abdll Kader Belhodja—shows an intelligent grasp of the needs of his country and an active determination to meet them. Abdll Kader Belhodja has been Minister of Agriculture in the Kaak Government, 1947–1950, and though not a member of the present outgoing Cabinet, it seems likely that he will be heard of again in the near future.

Foreign Affairs

The general attitude of the administration in both Morocco and Tunisia towards the United Kingdom is that we have sensibly enough realised that our interests and those of France in North Africa are identical and our sympathetic support of the French Government when these questions come up in any international forum is appreciated. Nevertheless difficulties are placed in their way in both countries if it is desired to meet any Moroccan or Tunisian notables unless they are considered entirely " safe " by the French authorities. As far as the United States Government are concerned the general view in Morocco is that they have at last learnt that it is in the American interest to maintain the *status quo, i.e.,* the French domination in North Africa, and that this realisation has been brought about by the establishment of the American air bases in Morocco, the security of which would be jeopardised if any serious trouble were made for France. The change in the American attitude is also attributed to some extent to the advent of a Republican government and the nomination of Mr. John Foster Dulles to the Secretaryship of State.

The episode of the meeting of Caids and Pashas in the Spanish Zone of Morocco, General Valino's speech and General Franco's subsequent reply aroused relatively little attention in either French Morocco or Tunisia, though some hot-heads among the native population made this the excuse for personal demonstrations on a small scale. In general Spain is not taken very seriously. For example, the Glaoumi made some statement on February 7 to the effect that if there were any more trouble in Spanish Morocco he would march in his men and take it over. This excited the Spanish Consul at Marrakech who complained to the French *Chef de Région* and was told by him to take the matter up with the Glaoui direct. He did so on the same afternoon and at tea time the Glaoui was still shaking with malicious chuckles at his own instructions to his interpreter which were as follows: " Tell the little man not to worry. I do not intend to take the Spanish Zone for the moment."

The Glaoui gives the impression of being at the same time a simple man and an adventurer. It was suggested by more than one French official in Rabat that his attendance at the Coronation as Sir Winston Churchill's personal guest and his public recognition by Sir Winston finally decided him to embark on one last great adventure and to overthrow the Sultan whom he has long despised.

Anti-French broadcasts from Radio Cairo are proving extremely troublesome to the French in Morocco. When asked what proportion of the population listened to these broadcasts M. Hutin, the Secretary-General of the French Government in Morocco, himself a staunch Resistant during the last war, somewhat surprisingly compared the number of listeners as proportionately the same as those who clandestinely listened to the B.B.C. in France.

Reforms

From conversations with French officials in Rabat and Casablanca it appears that the French administration are sincere in their desire to achieve the much heralded programme of reforms but are somewhat half-hearted and dilatory in the execution of that programme. They insist that it would take three or four generations before the average Arab could be accustomed to the idea of governing himself. The hierarchic principle is too deeply ingrained for this to come about more quickly. The Berbers, however, in their tribal organisation are used to discussion and debate on the main questions affecting the life of the individual and it may be that they will take to the democratic process more easily. There has

been moreover in recent times a marked flow of Berbers into the towns and this might encourage the urban Arabs to adopt democratic forms of government. It is generally accepted, however, that the reforms cannot be rushed through and that time is of the essence. How can fourteen judges be created by a stroke of the pen? The Moroccans themselves are uninterested in the reforms or in the formation of political institutions as such and are not helpful in compiling electoral lists. In questions of local government, however, a little interest is shown and it is possible that the idea of constituting local *jemmas* might catch on.

In Tunisia French officials seem more enthusiastic in theory for reforms but appear oppressed by the magnitude of the demographic problem. Until a solution of this problem is found it seems useless to press on with reorganisation in the political sphere.

Conclusions

The impressions recorded above are inevitably superficial since they are based on conversations with officials of all ranks over a period of only ten days. They tend to emphasise the chinks in the French armour rather than the strength of the armour itself. There is not the slightest doubt that the French administration in North Africa gives the native population far better government than they could provide for themselves and this will be the case for many years to come. Moreover the material benefits which the French have brought to the territories concerned are considerable and French domination in North Africa is undoubtedly a stable factor in Western defence. The *colons* and the bulk of the officials in North Africa have the guts and the determination to stay there and they are untroubled by any sentimental liberalism.

There is, however, the other side of the picture. The nineteenth century atmosphere of paternal government is shocking to various sections of opinion in Metropolitan France and the findings of the recent parliamentary commission of inquiry headed by M. de Moustier are definitely critical of French methods of administration. Knowledge that the Metropolitan government is not solidly behind them makes local officials nervous and, more important still, encourages local elements of opposition. There is for example no doubt that the ex-Sultan was encouraged in his obstinate nonco-operation by the belief that his friends in France were more powerful than they in fact were.

It should therefore be the policy of Her Majesty's Government to give the French one hundred per cent. support in any international forum and at the same time to encourage them, without any suggestion of interference in their domestic affairs, to adopt policies which will lead to a more solid relationship between the French settlers and the native population in North Africa in the long term rather than to crystallise the *status quo* on the present somewhat anachronistic basis.

JM 1015/18 No. 4

BOMB ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF THE SULTAN

Her Majesty's Consul-General to Mr. Eden. (*Received March 5*)

(No. 14) *Rabat,*
(Telegraphic) *March 5, 1954.*

Hand grenade thrown in Marakesh Mosque to-day wounded Sultan in the head and also several near him: Glaoui who was behind him was not hurt. Wound stated not to be serious. General Guillaume flew from manoeuvres at Oujda to see him and then returned.

JM 1942/1 No. 5

STATE VISIT BY THE NEW SULTAN TO CASABLANCA

Mr. Pares to Mr. Eden. (*Received March 22*)

(No. 11. Restricted) *Casablanca,*
March 8, 1954.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the new Sultan paid his first State visit to Casablanca on Feburary 23rd on the first stage of his official journey across Central and Southern Morocco. He came by rail from Rabat in the morning accompanied by the Grand Vizir and all the high officials of the Maghzen and left the Imperial train at an improvised stopping-place near the port a little distance from the centre of the city, where a temporary wooden platform had been erected the night before. Here he received the traditional offering of milk and dates from the Pasha of Casablanca, who was accompanied by all the high civil, military and naval authorities of the Region and the city.

2. After this ceremony he entered his official car, a large white Delahaye, and proceeded at about 20 m.p.h. between lines of troops along the broad, new and still unfinished Avenue de la République, which when it is completed, will be the city's principal thoroughfare. I watched the procession here and it seemed to me that the arrangements had been very cleverly stage-managed. The local authorities had not shirked any of the difficulties and the Sultan's route took him right through the centre of the city, where quite considerable crowds had gathered. It was of course obvious that very careful precautions had been taken to deal with any possible attempt on the Sultan's life. The route was lined with troops all the way up to the Imperial Palace, which lies just on the border between the European town and the new native town. A continuous barrier of palings had been erected on both sides of the road and even the crossroads were sealed off in this way, so that the city was divided into two halves from early morning until noon. Here and there police dogs could be seen in charge of N.C.O.'s of the French Army and there were numerous plain-clothes policemen about, who stopped Arab passers-by from time to time to pat their pockets in case they should be carrying weapons of any sort. But the atmosphere was in no way tense or oppressive and when the Sultan and his escort passed—first the mounted trumpeters of the Black Guard blowing a fanfare and then the lancers riding in single file on either side of the Sultan's huge white car—it seemed a very dignified and stately entry of the new sovereign into the largest and most prosperous city of his empire. There was some rather thin clapping, which seemed to originate from members of the European and Jewish populations, but the Imperial cortege with its trumpeters and black lancers, wearing their brilliant red uniforms and green and white turbans, successfully held the stage so that at the moment of its passage the somewhat restrained enthusiasm of the bystanders was not noticeable at all.

3. In the afternoon the Sultan received General Guillaume at the Palace and afterwards the senior civil and military dignitaries of the Region, the principal Moorish officials, the Consular Corps and a large number of Caids and other Moslem notabilities. He gave 1 million francs to the City's Moslem orphanage and 400,000 francs to be distributed amongst the needy, and in the afternoon of the second day of his visit he said a few kindly words to a deputation of Moorish workmen—the newspapers say they numbered 3,000—who were assembled in the courtyard just in front of the entrance to the Palace. On the following day he left by train for Marrakesh.

4. On his arrival there he seems—to judge from Press reports—to have had a really enthusiastic welcome. On the Friday he presided over the mid-day prayer with the Glaoui and Cherif Kittani and in the afternoon he received the Resident General, who had called on him the previous day after flying up from Rabat. Afterwards he received a large number of other officials, Moorish and French, as at Casablanca. The next day, in a small Fiat car driven by one of the Glaoui's sons, he visited the seven holy places of Marrakesh and on March 1st with the entire Maghzen he drove 40 km. to the Kasbah of Ait-Ourir, which belongs to the Glaoui family and was feasted there by the Glaoui's youngest son who holds the castle for his father. Ten thousand tribesmen from the hills were assembled to greet the Sultan and there was a great deal of singing, dancing, eating

and merry-making. As many as 40,000 more tribesmen are reported to have lined the road along which the Sultan passed. On March 3rd he visited the chief hospital of Marrakesh and made gifts of money for the relief of orphans and the poor. On the 5th, whilst he was attending the mid-day prayer in the Berrima Mosque, two grenades, tied together, were thrown at him from a distance of about 30ft. But fortunately, though these grenades (of Italian manufacture, probably war material salvaged in Tunis) exploded at his feet causing him facial injuries near his right eye, he was only superficially hurt. And of his entourage only six persons received injuries. Three had to spend one night in hospital but they were allowed to go home on the following day. The Glaoui, who was also near the Sultan, was untouched.

5. The attempt on the Sultan's life resembled in most of its details the attack on the Glaoui 14 days previously. The grenades are said to have been of the same design as the one used in the earlier attack, and they were thrown at the same moment in the service. A young Moor, about 30 years old, a native of Ait-Ourir (where the Sultan had been four days earlier) was caught by the Glaoui's guards in a courtyard adjoining the mosque after making an attempt to escape. Near the spot where he had been standing the pin of a grenade was found and it is stated in the Press that in addition he was seen to try to get rid of two more grenades as he ran across the courtyard. This seems slightly improbable since the grenades were like small canisters, 2½ in. in diameter and 6 in. long, and it seems rather unlikely that a terrorist would carry such a bulky armoury, especially as he would get only one chance of using it without being noticed. But, however that may be, five grenades were undoubtedly brought somehow into the mosque since, besides the four already mentioned, another one was found concealed under some matting wrapped in a handkerchief. The suspect is said to have confessed right away and was despatched by the Glaoui personally soon afterwards. All those who were in the Mosque—1,600 persons in all—were called on to identify themselves by the police, though in the end only about thirty-five persons, nearly all of them coming from the villages round Marrakesh, were detained because they could not produce identity papers. The Press says that amongst them the police expect to find accomplices of the dead man.

6. This unfortunate incident brought the Sultan's tour to a quick conclusion and he returned by train the next day to Rabat. An acquaintance of mine who was in Marrakesh and saw him leave said that he got quite an ovation and that he was not visibly shaken by the unpleasant experience. (All the newspapers have praised him for his calm bearing in the Mosque after the explosion had occurred.) Nevertheless, from the political point of view the attempt on his life negatives the good results achieved by his tour up to that moment. The same newspaper which was crowing the day before that the tour had proved how, contrary to the malicious declarations of France's enemies, the new Sultan was really loved and respected by his people, was forced to fall back on its more usual line of demanding the vigorous repression of terrorism. Even if the Sultan is willing to undertake another tour (and there are many rumours that he needs a lot of prodding before he can be persuaded to expose himself) the risk involved for the French authorities seems almost too great. Everyone is agreed that it is necessary for the new régime to try to make itself more popular amongst the Moorish population. But it is very hard to see how this desirable objective can be achieved without endangering the safety of the sovereign's person.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan.

I have, &c.

P. PARES.

JF 1892/1 No. 6

REPORT ON A VISIT TO FRENCH MOROCCO AND TUNISIA

Mr. Eden to Sir Oliver Harvey (Paris)

(No. 237. Confidential) *Foreign Office, April 2, 1954.*

Sir,

The report of Mr. Mayall's visit to French Morocco and Tunisia which was enclosed with your Excellency's despatch No. 80 of the 25th of February has been read with much interest. I think it is very useful for members of your staff to visit North Africa from time to time in order that we may have occasional reports of a general nature, such as this one, which form a valuable supplement to the regular detailed reporting of Her Majesty's Consuls-General.

2. I share in general the views expressed by your Excellency in your despatch, but I would make the following observations with regard to the suggestion that we should give the French Government our full support at the United Nations and elsewhere for their North African policy. Our support for the French when the questions of Morocco and Tunisia have been raised at the United Nations has been essentially on legal grounds: we maintain that the affairs of Morocco and Tunisia are matters within France's domestic jurisdiction and are therefore placed outside the competence of the United Nations by Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter. We have not judged it right in the United Nations to express a view on the merits or demerits of French policy in North Africa, and the United Kingdom Delegation at New York have always understood that they are under no obligation to support French policy (see, for example, paragraph 19 of the brief for Item No. 57, the Moroccan question, at the Eighth Session, a copy of which was sent to you as my despatch No. 811 of the 3rd of October, 1953). But since it is so clearly in the interests of Her Majesty's Government that the principle of non-interference by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of its member countries should be firmly maintained, we shall of course continue to support the French Government in their attempt to prevent the affairs of Morocco and Tunisia being discussed by the United Nations.

3. This rather legalistic approach does not mean that we do not have much sympathy for the French in the problems in North Africa and that we are not interested in seeing, and if possible helping them to arrive at, a solution as soon as possible. Quite the reverse; and I agree with your Excellency's endorsement of Mr. Mayall's conclusion that we should do all we legitimately can to encourage the French to proceed with a policy of enlightened reforms in Morocco and Tunisia. In giving such encouragement, however, we must, as you indicate, avoid any suggestion that we are interfering in French domestic affairs, and I think you would agree that we must also be careful not to cause irritation by general exhortations to the French to be more liberal and progressive in North Africa. We also have our difficulties in our own territories and we should not welcome general or particular advice from the French about the conduct of our colonial policy. Suitable opportunities might, however, be taken of welcoming generally progress in reforms which relieve the tension in North Africa and at the same time reduce the chances of further difficulties for the French in the United Nations, and of expressing our hope that the good work will continue.

4. The reforms recently announced in Tunisia are a welcome indication of French readiness to take steps towards the establishment of a régime of internal autonomy which they have often declared to be the objective of their policy both in Tunisia and in Morocco. Although the French doubtless retain most of the real power, the creation of a Tunisian majority in the Council of Ministers represents a notable step away from the principle of parity of French and Tunisian representation. In this respect Morocco has a long way yet to go. Given, however, the immensity of the problem facing the French, the progress so far made in carrying out the reforms announced last autumn, as revealed by Mr. Freese-Pennefather's despatch No. 15 of the 29th of January, is by no means discouraging, although it is disturbing to note from Mr. Mayall's report that the French Administration in Morocco are somewhat half-hearted in the execution of the

programme. It seems from the statement by General Guillaume enclosed in Mr. Freese-Pennefather's despatch under reference that April should mark an important stage in the execution of these reforms. It would be useful if Mr. Freese-Pennefather would assess the progress made by the end of that month.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat and Tunis and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

JM 1013/7 No. 7

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY REPORT

Period January–March, 1954

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received April 20)

(No. 22. Confidential) *Rabat, April 12, 1954.*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 8 of the 11th of January, 1954, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 31st of March, 1954.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

Political Report

General

Spanish Morocco and terrorism have been the main pre-occupations of the Protectorate authorities during the past quarter. The attempts to murder first the Glaoui and then the Sultan in mosques at Marrakesh and the many attacks on lesser personages have given, and continue to give, much anxiety to the security authorities, but an impressive number of arrests have been made and many of the guilty have been sentenced. Progress with reforms has been difficult and slow. The visit of the French parliamentary delegation headed by M. Moustier and their subsequent report has led to some speculation as to whether the direction of Moroccan policy in Paris may not undergo radical changes.

Spanish Morocco

2. The so-called "Tetuan Petition" of the 21st of January which, *inter alia*, repudiated the deposition of the ex-Sultan and appealed for the temporary separation of the Spanish Zone under the full sovereignty of the Khalifa, caused much consternation here and the attendant demonstrations followed by the visit of the notables from the Spanish Zone to Madrid could not but stir up feelings of bitterness and hope among the Moroccans who are opposed to the present régime. The French authorities were at a loss to interpret the significance and purpose of these unfriendly actions which were clearly inspired by the Spanish High Commission, and they admitted to considerable apprehension as to the Spaniards' ultimate intentions. The Maghzen at once addressed a protest to the French Government who reassured them that they would take all necessary steps to

comply with their treaty obligations and to defend the rights of His Majesty Sidi Mohammed ben Arafa. On the 25th of January the Sultan issued a proclamation pardoning those of his subjects who had been led astray and appealing for the unity and loyalty of his peoples, and on the following day the French took the precaution of removing the ex-Sultan and his family from Corsica to Madagascar—a measure which might well have been taken some months previously but which elicited surprisingly little local comment or overt resentment. Thereafter it was left to the respective Governments in Paris and Madrid to conduct the diplomatic exchanges on higher policy and the authorities in this zone did all they could to lessen local friction.

3. As might be expected these attempts to isolate French Morocco from the repercussions of the political conflict were not entirely successful. When the Spanish authorities hampered travel into and across their zone by the delay or refusal of visas and when they banned certain local French newspapers in both Tetuan and Tangier, the Protectorate authorities were obliged to take retaliatory action, but as a result of negotiations between the Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet and the newly-appointed Spanish Consul-General here, these useless recriminations were happily called off. The radio war, however, which was waged relentlessly and in all the local dialects for which speakers could be found, was more difficult to deal with and it was only brought to an end early in April.

4. Local Nationalists regarded the " Tetuan Petition " as a sham—as it appears also to have been regarded by their supporters elsewhere—inasmuch as it was not accompanied by any apparent disposition on the part of the Spaniards to take positive steps to accelerate the grant of indepedence for the country: it was, however, welcomed by them for the embarrassment it gave to the French. There were no demonstrations in this zone but the antics at Tetuan may well have encouraged the terrorists and their masters to exaggerate their hopes and to step up their efforts.

Internal

5. The principal events of the quarter were the attempt on the Glaoui's life in the Koutoubia mosque at Marrakesh and the Sultan's journey to the south, in the course of which he also narrowly escaped assassination in the Berrima mosque in the same city. It would have been difficult to predict the political consequences had either of these two attacks been successful and the former was doubtless also intended to frighten the Sultan from making his projected tour which was due to begin in the following week. In each case the time and place chosen was during prayers in a mosque, when the identity of the assailant could not easily be established among the prostrate congregation and where, for religious reasons, the French police could not enter and provide the same measure of security as elsewhere. On the latter occasion it was indeed suggested to the Glaoui that the worshippers should be limited to a small number of reliable Moroccans but he urged that no restrictions be placed on those desirous of praying, promising that he and his men would provide the necessary protection for His Majesty's person. On neither occasion was the Glaoui himself hurt, though there were a number of other casualties two of which were fatal, but the Sultan received injuries near his eye from which he is still suffering. The perpetrators of the earlier crime were not traced but a man who attempted to escape after the attack on the Sultan was killed in the courtyard of the mosque, the Glaoui himself firing the final shots to despatch him.

6. The first of these crimes took place on the 19th of February and on the 23rd the Sultan left Rabat by train for Casablanca on his official tour. There were many who thought that the Protectorate authorities were taking unjustifiable risks in letting him proceed but it was essential, on political grounds, for His Majesty to show that he could travel freely in his own country and for him to be received in two of its principal cities, Casablanca and Marrakesh, which he had not yet visited since his accession. In both cities His Majesty's State entry and formal progress through the streets were watched by large crowds, those at Marrakesh being the more enthusiastic, and happily no untoward incident occurred. He held receptions for officials and notables, both French and Moroccan, and that in Casablanca was attended also by members of the Consular Corps. After two days there he proceeded to Marrakesh, and on his arrival presided over Friday prayers with the Glaoui and Shereef Abdelhai el Kittani. On the following day he visited the seven holy places of Marrakesh, using a small car driven by one of the Glaoui's

sons, and on the 1st of March, with his entire retinue from the Maghzen, he motored to a Kasbah belonging to the Glaoui family at Ait Ourir, where 10,000 tribesmen were assembled to greet him: it was reported that some 40,000 more had lined the road along which he passed. On the 3rd he visited the chief hospital at Marrakesh and, as at Casablanca, he made gifts of money for the relief of orphans and of the poor. The attempt on His Majesty's life on the 5th of March brought his tour to an abrupt close and he returned to Rabat on the following day.

7. Terrorist attacks have continued throughout the quarter. After the dethronement of the ex-Sultan the acts of aggression and sabotage appeared to be sporadic and lacking any central direction or co-ordination but latterly there have been clear indications that they are being planned by an organising body, which the Protectorate authorities have so far been unable to locate. They have also been encouraged by broadcasts from the Cairo radio station which has even been giving the names of the persons who should be liquidated: strong representations were made to the Egyptian Government against these incitements to crime. The Communist hand is evident from the efficient organisation of terrorist cells which have been unearthed and it seems quite likely that they were responsible for the sacrilege committed in the Marrakesh mosques about which they would have had no scruples but which must have deeply offended all Moslems regardless of their political affiliations. As previously the victims have mostly been unimportant Moroccans who were employed by or loyal to the French, but several personalities of local importance, as well as a French policeman, have also been killed. There have been no attacks on other Europeans, and except for two incidents—one at the Agadir race course and the other in a café at Marrakesh—no bombs have been indiscriminately thrown among crowds or in public places. The objective of the terrorists would appear to be, as hitherto, to frighten Moroccans from entering the service of the Protectorate Administration and from co-operating with the French in the implementation of the reforms.

8. Against this record of continuing crimes, it is encouraging to record that the police have achieved some notable successes in the arrest and the punishment of their perpetrators. They were lucky in rounding up the assassins at Fez where they had long been searching for them without any assistance whatsoever from the inhabitants, even though several of the attacks had taken place in broad daylight in the presence of many witnesses. In the subsequent trial, which lasted nine days and received much publicity, ten were sentenced to death and two to life imprisonment. Despite the extreme difficulty of policing that town and the low reputation of its inhabitants for civic virtues, it has remained entirely free from terrorism during the quarter under review. In February the arrests were announced of those responsible for the derailment of the Casablanca-Algiers express last August and of suspects for the bomb explosion in the central market at Casablanca on Christmas Eve, and a military court pronounced eight sentences of death and one of forced labour on terrorists implicated in the derailment of the Casablanca–Marrakesh train last November. In the countryside new Caids were appointed for the troublesome Beni Snassen tribe which had been partly responsible for the Oujda murders a few days before the banishment of the ex-Sultan. The energetic measures taken by the police appear to have improved the general security situation very considerably throughout the country with notable exception of Casablanca, where the size of the " medinas " has made the search for culprits extremely difficult.

9. Despite the outward calm and prosperity of the country the somewhat tense atmosphere created in mutual relationships by the political extremists on both sides has retarded the introduction of the reforms, and the Protectorate authorities have been subjected to considerable criticism on this score. Those which relate to representative institutions, such as municipal councils and regional assemblies, have made little visible progress owing partly to the difficulty of preparing Moroccan electoral rolls, and the introduction of the judicial reforms is dependent on the recruitment of qualified personnel to enable the new courts to function. It is hoped, however, that the current quarter will see the establishment of at any rate some of the bodies envisaged.

10. The Protectorate authorities also came in for criticism from the parliamentary delegation headed by M. Moustier which visited Morocco in January and made a report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly in Paris. They stressed the need for improving the political

climate for real collaboration between Frenchmen and Moroccans to be possible: they considered that the grip of the police should be lessened and more liberty allowed to the expression of opinion: and finally they urged that a long-term Franco-Moroccan policy should be defined and launched with adequate publicity. They admitted that the deposition of the ex-Sultan was necessary but complained that this episode and the delay over introducing the reforms illustrated the "crisis of authority" from which Moroccan affairs were suffering: remedies for the situation which must be energetic and swift should be found in Paris. There was considerable speculation locally as to how the recommendations in this report might be implemented and as to whether responsibility for policy in the two North African Protectorates might not be removed from the Quai d'Orsay.

11. Early in the year rumours were rife that the Resident-General would shortly be transferred and that a number of senior officials would leave with him. These reports were strongly denied after the Tetuan demonstration and the French Government reaffirmed their full confidence in General Guillaume: he is, however, regarded as a likely successor to Marshal Juin as Commander-in-Chief of the Central European Sector of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Apart from several visits to Paris and from a visit to Tunis to attend the annual conference on North Africa with the Resident-General of Tunisia and the Governor-General of Algeria, General Guillaume has been in Rabat for most of the time but in April he had a riding accident on a shooting expedition arranged for Admiral Fechteler and although he has continued to attend to current business he has since been confined to the Residency.

Miscellaneous

12. Under an agreement between the Canadian and French Governments, squadrons of the Canadian Air Division in Europe have been visiting the Rabat/Salé military air base for gunnery training with F. 86 sabre aircraft. Each squadron stays for about a fortnight here and the exercises are to continue until the middle of the summer.

13. Major-General David W. Hutchison, who was commanding the units of the United States Air Force stationed in this country, was replaced in February by Major-General Frederick E. Glantzberg and Brigadier-General Charles B. Dougher: the former now commands the 17th Air Force of the United States Air Force and the latter the 5th Air Division of the Strategic Air Command. A wing of forty-five B. 47 bombers flew non-stop from the United States to the air base at Sidi Slimane refuelling at night *en route*. This flight of nearly 5,000 miles, without mechanical mishap, and the training exercises subsequently held in this area have been described by the local headquarters as successful beyond expectation.

14. The Doyen of the Consular Corps, M. Gugliemo Arnó, was transferred in January and he was replaced as Italian Consul-General by M. G. Orlandini. The Spanish Consul-General, the Comte de Torata, was succeeded in February by Señor José Felipe Alcover, who had formerly been Director of Political Affairs in the Near and Middle East at the Spanish Foreign Ministry. Mr. H. L. B. Coe, Her Majesty's Consul at this post, was succeeded by Mr. J. E. Hartley in March.

Naval Visits

15. There were two British naval visits at Casablanca in February and March. Four destroyers of the 4th Destroyer Squadron under the command of Captain J. L. Barber, D.S.O., arrived on the 26th of February and on the day following their departure H.M.S. *Indefatigable,* commanded by Captain R. Fisher, D.S.O., O.B.E., arrived for a six-day visit. Originally only H.M.S. *Indefatigable* had been expected but owing to the suddent cancellation of all visits to Spanish ports the destroyer squadron was diverted to Casablanca. The British colony, French friends and the authorities all laid themselves out to make Her Majesty's ships as welcome as possible, and the senior officers of H.M.S. *Indefatigable* were entertained to luncheon by the Resident-General at Rabat. These visits were an unqualified success.

16. During the week preceding the arrival of our ships a Netherlands squadron of seven ships, including the aircraft carrier *Karel Doormann,* and a Norwegian destroyer, also paid visits to the port.

Visitors

17. The Australian Ambassador in Paris, Sir Keith Officer, made an extensive tour of the country in February after which he proceeded to Algeria and Tunisia.

18. Air Commodore A. D. Selway and Mr. A. L. Mayall, Air Attaché and First Secretary respectively at Her Majesty's Embassy in Paris, visited Rabat, Casablanca, Marrakesh and Fez between the 4th and the 10th of February. Air Commodore G. G. Barrett, Air Officer Commanding, Gibraltar, paid an official visit to Rabat at the same time.

19. Admiral Fechteler, Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces, Southern Europe, visited this country from the 20th to the 29th of March, accompanied by officers of the Allied Forces and his wife and daughter. A full programme was arranged for this party whose itinerary was as comprehensive as the time at their disposal would permit, but despite rumours to the contrary the visit was primarily recreational and it was stated that no official matters were discussed.

20. There have, as usual, been visits by senior officers of the United States fighting services and by French officials and delegations. The parliamentary delegation headed by M. Moustier was alone of importance and their subsequent report is summarised in paragraph 10 above.

JM 1013/10 No. 8

REPORT ON THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1954

Mr. Hartley to Mr. Eden. (*Received July 23*)

(No. 41. Confidential) *Rabat, July 12, 1954.*

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Freese-Pennefather's despatch No. 22 of April 12, I have the honour to enclose herein by report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1954.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.

J. E. HARTLEY.

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT PERIOD APRIL–JUNE 1954

Introductory

Certain judicial reforms, continued acts of terrorism and the virtual retirement of the Sultan to his Palace in Rabat, persistent incitement to disorder from Cairo radio, are the main features of a quarter, the last fortnight of which saw the arrival (June 14) of a newly-appointed Resident-General and his preliminary contacts with the people of this country.

Internal

2. The nomination on May 20 of M. Francis Lacoste as Resident-General to replace General Guillaume, who left Morocco on June 1, may perhaps mark the close of an unhappy chapter dating from the deposition of the former Sultan in August 1953. Despite a series of administrative and judicial reforms which have been introduced since then, the political life of the country remains at a standstill, and it has been found impossible in the prevailing atmosphere to bring to fruition the complete programme of reforms announced in September 1953 on the accession of the present Sultan.

3. The exiled leaders of the extremist Istiqlal (Independence) Party may no longer have Mohamed ben Youssef V on the Moroccan throne but they have instead a sufficient number of young Moroccan hotheads ready to risk their lives for the nationalist cause. In the event, very few of them have had to give up their lives for the cause, though not a few, guilty and innocent, have undoubtedly suffered the process of police investigation. It may be that in accepting Communist help the Istiqlal leaders now find they no longer hold the reins entirely and it may be that many of the young terrorists are dupes of Communism, but they are all, whether abroad or at home, none the less Moslem chauvinists whose one concern is self-government. Viewed from this angle, their campaign of violence has been thoroughly successful in creating an atmosphere throughout the country wherein an approach to closer understanding and co-operation between the French and the Moroccans has been rendered extremely difficult. They have reduced the native populations in the towns to acquiescence in their boycotting plans, and political assassinations, besides indiscriminate acts of terrorism and incendiarism, form part of their policy. The capture of the perpetrators of these acts of violence is the exception rather than the rule, due in great part to the fear of bystanders to give chase or information, and the police have so far been unable to trace the connecting links leading to the control of the organisation.

4. The elimination of terrorism and the restoration of public confidence is the new Resident-General's primary problem. As if in challenge to him, there have been the attempted assassination of General Guillaume at Marrakesh on May 26, the all but successful murder of General d'Hauteville, Chef de Région at Marrakesh on June 20 and the successful attempt on Dr. Eyraud, shot dead in broad daylight in the main streets of Casablanca on June 30. Dr. Eyraud, editor of *La Vigie Marocaine,* the leading French newspaper in Morocco, and Honorary President of the Troisième Collège (that section of the Conseil du Gouvernement made up of members of the liberal professions) was generally regarded as a mouth-piece of the Right-wing French element. He had come to Morocco as a young man and did well in the veterinary service. During the war he turned to journalism and associated himself with the collaborationist group of newspapers owned by M. Pierre Mas.

5. It is now acknowledged that, quite apart from the problem of politically-minded Moroccans, the deposition of the former Sultan has caused resentment, from the religious angle, much more deep than the French foresaw and it remains to be seen whether M. Lacoste can restore order and harmony. In his public pronouncements since his arrival he has made it clear that the suppression of terrorism is his first concern, that he hopes for co-operation from all members of the community in this task, and that he is aware that something more than mere promises are now necessary to meet Moroccan aspirations. But he has also made it clear that he does not intend to sacrifice France's legitimate stake in the country. He has two extremes to contend with; the terrorists on the one hand, and the die-hard French settler on the other who can scarcely be unaware that Lacoste is no upholder of nineteenth century colonialism in a twentieth century Protectorate.

6. The news of the formation by Mendès-France of a Ministry for Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs was well received. M. Lacoste has been fully occupied in the two weeks since his arrival with making his formal entries into Rabat, Casablanca and Fez, with the reorganisation of certain posts at the Residency-General, with a flying visit to General d'Hauteville in hospital after the attempt on his life and with a funeral oration at Dr. Eyraud's burial. In the near future he will journey to Paris to confer with Mendés-France and with his new Minister, Christian Fouchet.

Reforms

7. The reform of the Maghzen judicial system, the basic legislation for which had been promulgated last November, was brought into effect by various Vizirial Decrees passed in April. These (1) instituted Regional Courts, one in each of the capitals of the seven administrative regions into which Morocco is divided, their purpose being to handle criminal, civil and commercial cases of a certain importance and to act as a first Court of Appeal in cases dealt with by the lower courts of the Caids and Pashas, (2) appointed officers for these Regional Courts, including French " Commissaires " to act in an advisory capacity, (3) brought into force a Moroccan Penal Code, heretofore non-existent, (4) codified the terms of service of judicial personnel, and (5) set down the qualifications, in the absence of a sufficient number

of trained lawyers, of persons permitted to plead in the Maghzen Courts. The object of this legislation is to create a Moroccan judicature independent of the Administration. Its present weakness lies in the lack of experienced personnel. The installation of the Presidents of the new Regional Courts was made with all due solemnity at the end of April. At Rabat the Resident-General himself, General Guillaume, attended. Some time after, the terrorists replied by exploding a bomb in the house of Si Mohamed Guessous, President of the Rabat Court, and by shooting at the Vice-President two days later, and by assassinating the French " Commissaire " of the Regional Court at Marrakesh, M. Monnier.

8. As regards the other reforms announced soon after the accession of the present Sultan (see Report for September 1953), the political atmosphere has prevented the holding of elections both for the municipal councils, which are thus a reality on paper only, and for the " Conseil du Gouvernement," the members of which have up to now been nominated. No progress has been made towards the formation of the promised consultative Regional Councils but the institution of administrative " djemmas " (village councils) has been pushed forward. It is hoped that this latter move towards local government will help to stop the drift of the countryman to the town where, uprooted, workless and disgruntled, he becomes an easy prey to nationalist propaganda.

Spanish Zone

9. Relations with the Spanish Zone of Morocco were less strained than during the previous quarter, but Radio Tetuan's Arabic broadcasts remained anti-French in tone.

Economic

10. The Budget Committee of the " Conseil du Gouvernement " met at the end of June to consider a supplementary budget for the current year of 1 milliard 860 million francs for sundry unforeseen expenditure and a further 142 million francs for additional public works to counter unemployment. The Director of Finance promised to find this money without resorting to increased taxation and the Committee brought forward no criticism of a serious nature.

11. Considerable dislocation is being caused to the Port of Casablanca owing to a strike which started on May 15 and is still not settled. The port is operated by the " Manutention Marocaine," not a Government organisation, the European personnel of which are standing out for the same wages, benefits and conditions as those enjoyed by employees of the tobacco monopoly and electricity authority, both of which are State concerns. The Arab workers in the port have remained completely quiet.

12. Harvesting of the grain crops is nearly over and estimates point to a more abundant yield than last year. There has been some loss on account of terrorist incendiarism, over and above the usual loss due to accidental fires.

Miscellaneous

13. Her Majesty The Queen's visit to Gibraltar at the end of the Royal Tour was saluted by the French passenger ship *Maréchal Lyautey* as the Royal Yacht approached Gibraltar. This encounter served as a theme for a broadcast from Paris in which it was recalled that in those same waters the Royal Navy had on two occasions saluated Marshal Lyautey himself; the first time in 1925 on his retirement from Morocco and the second time in 1935 when his remains were conveyed to Morocco for reburial.

14. Professor Henri Terrasse, the eminent authority on Moroccan history and culture, who is the Director of the " Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines " was given the degree of D.Litt. *honoris causa* by Oxford University in May. General Guillaume was awarded the insignia of Commander of the Legion of Merit on his departure, and General Frandon, Officer Commanding French Air Force, Morocco, the insignia of Officer of the Legion of Merit, on his transfer to other duties in France. In both cases the presentation was made by General Glantzberg, Commanding the 17th Air Force, United States Air Force.

British Consulate-General, Rabat,
June 30, 1954.

JM 1015/80 No. 9

INTERNAL SITUATION IN MOROCCO AND THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF REFORMS

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (*Received September 27*)

(No. 53. Unclassified) *Rabat,*
Sir, *September 23, 1954.*

I have the honour to inform you that on September 20 the Resident-General made a broadcast speech regarding the internal situation in this country and the Government's policy for the introduction of reforms.

2. M. Lacoste referred to the speech which he made on his arrival here (my despatch No. 34 of June 15 last) in which he had outlined the problems confronting him and the general principles on which his policy would be based. He expressed regret that subsequent events should have delayed its introduction but was glad to record that the general situation had considerably improved throughout Morocco, excepting at Casablanca. Since July 1 the police had arrested 198 persons for acts of terrorism and the "gendarmerie" had arrested another 185. The forces of law and order, however, were still considerably fewer in relation to the population of the country than they were in France and in most other countries: new recruits for the "gendarmerie" in the country districts numbered no more than 25 to 30 per annum whereas the population was increasing at the rate of more than 500 per day.

3. The Administration must now urgently pursue two parallel lines of action, one in the political and the other in the economic and social field. There was an important difference between the two in that immediate action was possible in the latter, whereas the former required prior consultation, since it would be contrary to the principle of Moroccan sovereignty, and indeed also to the idea of evolution which France had encouraged in Morocco, to impose on the people ready made political institutions. It was for the Protectorate authorities to *propose* a plan which conformed in general to the political structure in most modern States and then to secure the agreement to this plan of representative elements of all sections of Moroccan opinion.

4. M. Mendès-France had already announced the broad outlines of this plan which was to provide, first of all in the towns and villages and soon afterwards in the "régions," an opportunity for Moroccans to gain experience of modern political life by living it themselves: by managing their own economic and budgetary affairs the Moroccans would themselves be the creators of their own institutions, adapting them to their own special needs. Working from the bottom upwards the Shereefian State would acquire a new form and, in this process, the existing framework of the Executive and of the Judiciary might require some modification. This process required the decentralisation of Administration although this step might be unpopular at first in certain quarters.

5. To give effect to this programme of development a "Conseil d'Etude des réformes" would have to be set up to provide a means of consulting the Moroccan people. But who should appoint the members of this Council? How many should they be? How, and by what qualifications should they be chosen? To answer these questions M. Lacoste proposed to have unofficial discussions, without any preconceived ideas, with various persons whose opinions would be of value in consideration of their political standing, of their personal influence or merely of their interest in Moroccan affairs. It was necessary that these preliminary consultations should give a clear picture of the political thinking of all elements in Morocco and he therefore proposed to repeal certain measures regarding persons who had been banished or interned. The French in Morocco would also, naturally, be associated in the study and implementation of this programme of reforms. The institutions of the future would guarantee their legitimate rights and give them legal means of defending their interests. They would play an essential part in the life of the "régions" and of the towns and would give the central Government their advice on economic and financial matters.

6. Turning to economic and social questions M. Lacoste emphasised the importance of developing local industries so that they could compete with other producers in the open market despite the problems involved (*i.e.*, the impossibility of imposing protective tariffs owing to existing international agreements). Provision would be made in the budget for 1955 to meet the costs of social improvements, which in turn were dependent on the economic development of the country's resources. In the meantime certain definite decisions could be taken: the minimum wage of agricultural workers would be appreciably increased as from October 1 in order to reduce the disparity between their wages and those earned in industry. It was hoped that by this means a brake could be put on the exodus to the towns and that a considerable improvement would result in the standard of living in the countryside. In order to offset the incidence of these increases arrangements were in hand to reduce the price of certain necessities for agriculture, such as fertilisers and agricultural machinery. The prices of agricultural produce must be maintained and the Administration was hoping to establish a common pool with France for the sale of cereals.

7. The importance and development of trade unions had been carefully studied with a view to granting to Moroccans the right of free association for their professional interests and legislation on the subject would be introduced within the next few weeks.

8. In addition some purely administrative measures were contemplated to accelerate and widen the opportunities for young Moroccans to enter Government service; the existing method of accepting candidates on the basis of their scholastic attainments would be revised to provide also for the acceptance of applicants whose training the Administration itself would undertake for the period of one or two years.

9. After summarising the principal points in his speech the Resident-General appealed for the co-operation of all the inhabitants of the country, French and Moroccan alike, and for the establishment of a "new climate" in which his programme could be carried out. He wished to give to the country every opportunity for attaining its fullest development among the Nations of the world in peace, friendship and prosperity.

10. I enclose the text(1) of M. Lacoste's speech and am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Madrid and Washington, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls General in Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, the Political Officer, British Middle East Office in Fayid, the Regional Information Officer, British Middle East Office in Beirut, the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations in New York, and Her Majesty's Consuls in Casablanca and Fez.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

(1) Not printed.

JM 1013/14 No. 10

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO

(Period Quarter ended September 30, 1954)

Mr. Freese Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received October 30)

(No. 58. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *October 16, 1954.*

With reference to Mr. Hartley's despatch No. 41 of July 14, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on September 30.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca and the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

General

The first three months of M. Lacoste's tenure of office have proved to be much less spectacular than either the optimists or the pessimists were prepared to forecast. The change of Resident General in Rabat and then of the French Government had raised hopes of the early proclamation of a new policy for French Morocco to be followed by reforms of an unspecified but liberal character, while the pessimists were uttering dire warnings of anarchy if positive steps were not quickly taken towards meeting the aspirations of the Nationalists. In the event M. Mendès-France was too pre-occupied with more serious and urgent issues to announce his policy for Morocco until the end of August and M. Lacoste's speech of September 20 about reforms was too anodyne to satisfy political opinion in any of the principally interested quarters. The future of the ex-Sultan, moreover, became an increasingly important factor in the political picture from August onwards, when it became apparent that co-operation over reforms would be largely dependent on the French finding a nearer abode for him than Madagascar and a solution of the dynastic question. So far as public order was concerned July passed off quietly enough and the disorders in August connected with the first anniversary of the ex-Sultan's deposition were considerably less extensive than the French themselves expected, the worst outbreaks being the riots in the " medina " of Fez and the murders of Petitjean and Port Lyautey. Casablanca, as usual, had a bad record for individual acts of terrorism and for strikes, and there was extensive burning of crops particularly in the neighbourhood of Meknes. Elsewhere, however, there was little to disturb the day-to-day life of the country but this uneasy calm and the almost complete obscurity of the political outlook continued to make thinking elements of the population, both French and Moroccan, understandably apprehensive and diffident about the future.

Internal

2. The Resident General visited Paris at the beginning of July paid an official visit to Marrakech in the middle of the month. On all public occasions he reiterated his determination to stamp out terrorism but he was not yet in a position to give any indication of how the political problems of the protectorate would be tackled. In the meantime the cease-fire in Indo-China, the decision regarding the Suez Canal Zone and M. Mendès-France's dramatic visit to Tunis on July 31 all helped to encourage the Nationalists, and the festival of the Aid el Kebir, which coincided with the first anniversary of the ex-Sultan's deposition by the Moslem calendar, was expected to be the occasion of widespread disorders and demonstrations.

3. Fez, which had always retained its affection for the ex-Sultan, was the first city to give vent to its feelings when on August 1 a rumour was spread in the " medina " that the ex-Sultan's return to Morocco was imminent. The demonstrations started in a cheerful spirit with crowds thronging the narrow streets and shouting " Vive le Roi, Vive S. M. Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, Vive la France, Vive Mendès-France, Vive Francis Lacoste "; not only young men but also, for the first time in local history, women and children took part in the processions. The demonstrators were peaceable at first, and throughout the whole period of the troubles no attempt was made to molest French people or to attack French property. The situation deteriorated when troops and tanks were brought in to reinforce the police and the crowds were driven inside the gates of the " medina " which were firmly shut on them; tear gas bombs were used and in the ensuing panic four women and a child were trampled to death. Demonstrations continued within the " medina " from morning until nightfall for a whole fortnight and there were many violent clashes both between the demonstrators and the native police, who were assisted by Berber tribesmen, and between partisans and opponents of the ex-Sultan. The notables and the nationalist leaders made a number of vain appeals to stop the manifestations but acknowledged that they had lost all control. The Resident General also broadcast an appeal and visited Fez on two occasions but his interventions were likewise of no avail. During this period the mosques, which for the past year had been almost empty, were crowded to overflowing when Friday prayers were said in the name of the ex-Sultan, and, as an act of mourning, the feast of the Aid el Kebir was not celebrated. The economic life of the town was at a complete standstill and a large proportion of the population were suffering privations but the demonstrators showed no signs of weakening until the morning of August 15 when a large scale round-up was effected by a force of some five thousand police and troops, including detachments of the Foreign Legion; additional forces were on duty elsewhere in the town and neighbourhood. The population, who were completely taken by surprise, offered no resistance and by August 20 the situation had so improved that the troops were withdrawn. During the next fortnight Berber tribesmen were sent to the principal mosques with their leaders to attend prayers said in the name of the present Sultan, but this unpopular practice was stopped early in September. The casualties among the demonstrators were officially given as twenty-three killed (of which only seven killed by the security forces) and fifty-eight wounded, and among the police as three wounded and a few more injured; in the case of the former the figures were probably higher since by no means all burials would have been recorded, owing to the local custom of families taking away their own dead as soon as possible. Numerous arrests were made and over four hundred and fifty demonstrators, mostly in their teens or early twenties, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to two years.

4. Organised demonstrations were expected in the other principal cities of the protectorate and the limited forces available for the maintenance of order, including Gardes Republicains flown in from France, were divided among the traditional trouble centres. Taking advantage of these dispositions the terrorists picked on Petitjean and Port Lyautey, which were weakly policed, for their attentions and in the serious rioting which took place in the two towns early in August seven Jews and seven Europeans were brutally massacred. At Casablanca terrorist activities were happily few though widespread strikes and boycotting were organised; the appointment in July of Si Hadj Bouchaib ben Korchi as Pasha, with his excellent record of war service and of administration, may have been partly responsible for the situation being kept in hand. At Marrakech a senior French official who was murdered in July was the last of the city's list of eminent victims and French police were sent in to comb out the " medina "; these operations proved most successful and there has since been no further trouble there. In Rabat the Aid el Kebir was officially celebrated in the palace grounds with a large attendance of Berber caids and tribesmen; there were no disturbances but there was a notable absence of enthusiasm for the occasion. During September there was a general lull in terrorism throughout the country excepting in Casablanca where individual attacks continued on pro-French Moroccans usually of humble standing, and there were a few bomb explosions at Oujda, near the Algerian frontier.

5. There was much speculation during the quarter as to how far the Communists were responsible for organising terrorist activities and public disorder. At the beginning of July broadcasts were started in Arabic from Budapest Radio with pronouncements from the Moroccan Communist Party and from Nationalists in exile. The technique of the terrorists for some time past had often been of the professional Communist type, and it was clearly in the Communist interest to stir up trouble, more especially since the establishment of the American air bases in this country. Except for keeping up the spirit of " resistance " and for party discipline the Istiqlal had less reason to be active; the

release of their leaders from prison and from exile appeared imminent and their next show of strength could be reserved for later on when Morocco would be discussed at the United Nations. Although direct evidence of Communist complicity was scanty it seemed highly probable that they had resumed their activities here and that much of the terrorism might now be beyond the control of the Istiqlal leaders.

Political

6. On August 10 M. Fouchet, the Minister for Morocco and Tunisia, informed the French National Assembly that in Morocco nothing could be done until calm had been restored; thereafter the Government would press on with social, administrative and economic reforms but the dynastic question would require very careful study. M. Lacoste returned from his second visit to Paris at the beginning of the month to find petitions accumulating from various quarters, including one from the Ulems of Fez, many of whom had last year signed the " Beia " expressing allegiance to the present Sultan but were now asking for the return of Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. They were removed from the " horm " of Moulay Idriss, where they had sought sanctuary, by the Sultan's " Garde Noire " and after a stay of a few weeks in Rabat, in the course of which they are said to have made their excuses and apologies to the Sultan, they returned to Fez. These petitions elicited firm protestations of loyalty to the present Sultan from the Glaoui and from many Caids but the August anniversaries and the ineffectiveness of Sidi Moulay ben Arafa's personality combined to make his predecessor more popular in exile than he had ever been in the later years of his reign.

7. On August 27 M. Mendès-France made his long awaited statement of policy on Morocco to the French National Assembly. He said that the improved situation made it possible to press on with reforms and the Government would improve the material situation of the former Sultan but without there being any question of restoring him to the throne. It would be with the present Sultan that they would negotiate and representatives of the various trends of opinion in Morocco would be asked to join a council to study propositions put forward by the French Government. Agricultural wages would be increased and urban workers must be better protected; more posts in the public service should be thrown open to Moroccans and the youth of the country should have the benefit of professional training. The future development of Moroccan institutions would be impossible to conceive without the continuing presence and help of the French in Morocco, and national autonomy would progressively be realised with the friendship and support of France.

8. The Resident General at last had a directive on policy, however difficult it might be to pursue it except in so far as its social and economic provisions were concerned. While retaining control the Government wished to give the Moroccans increasing responsibilities in directing their own affairs and to work out with them a programme of reforms in agreement with the Sultan. The following three weeks were occupied with intensive discussions, both in Rabat and in Paris, and on September 20 M. Lacoste made a broadcast speech in which he drew the distinction between political reforms which would take time owing to the consultations needed, and the remainder which could be put into effect by administrative action. He developed the theme of establishing institutions in which Moroccans would run their own affairs and, in order to widen the basis on which the projected " Reforms Council " could be established, he announced his intention of releasing a number of the Nationalists who had been in prison or in exile since the Casablanca riots of December 1952; (and a large number were in fact set free by the end of the month). The French also would be associated in work on the reforms and their legitimate rights must be guaranteed by the institutions of the future. Agricultural wages would be raised as from October 1 and legislation relating to Trade Unions would shortly be introduced; local industries would be fostered and measures would be taken to widen the opportunities for young Moroccans to enter the public service. At no point in his speech did M. Lacoste refer to the Sultan.

9. Neither of the above speeches aroused much interest in the press and, however well-intentioned the Government's proposals might be, the chances of their early realisation receded as the dynastic issue came more prominently into the foreground. By the end of the quarter no progress with the political reforms had been made, owing largely to the difficulties inherent in setting up the Reforms Council, and despite his best endeavours to maintain order and to keep up morale in the country, M. Lacoste had lost much of the confidence and popularity which he enjoyed on his arrival both among the French and among the Moroccans.

Spanish Morocco

10. The broadcasts in Arabic from Tetuan continued to be as violently anti-French as ever but towards the end of September General Garcia Valiño appeared to be taking a more conciliatory and reasonable attitude towards the problems of the French protectorate, appreciating that the return of the ex-Sultan would not be generally acceptable and having some qualms that the tempo of democratic reforms here might have unwelcome repercussions in his own Zone.

United Nations

11. On July 28 the Arab-Asian countries formally requested that " the Morocco question " be included in the agenda of the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly. At the end of August the Arab-Asian countries made an effort to bring this issue before the Security Council but the motions relating thereto were defeated.

Appointments

12. The following are the principal senior officials who have been appointed since M. Lacoste's arrival:—

Délégué—M. Ludovic Chancel. A career Foreign Service Officer whose last appointment was that of French Ambassador in Bagdad. He was Shereefian Counsellor here from 1944 to 1946.

Secretary-General—M. Mauric Papon. A civil servant with experience of Algeria but none of Morocco. Formerly Secretary-General of the Prefecture of Police, Paris.

Directeur du Cabinet Civil—M. Francis Levasseur. A Foreign Service officer who was " chef de Cabinet Civil " here from 1944 to 1949 and latterly counsellor at the French Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.

Directeur de l'Intérieur—Colonel Georges Hubert. He entered the " Service des Affaires Indigènes " in 1931 since when he has acquired an intimate knowledge of Morocco.

General Duval has been promoted to the rank of full general (Général d'Armée).

United States Consular Representation

13. The United States Consulate at Rabat was raised to the status of a Consulate General on September 1.

Casablanca Port Strike

14. The strike mentioned in paragraph 11 of the last quarterly report, which was organised by European personnel for higher wages, came to an end after two months on July 8. Most of the strikers' demands were met.

Visitors

15. American visitors included Admiral G. Wright, Commander-in-Chief Allied Forces Atlantic Zone, with his staff officers, Mr. Harold E. Talbot, Secretary for Air, Mr. Robert Cutler, Administrative Assistant to the President and Chairman of the National Security Council, and Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court of the United States. On his return the last named published in the American magazine *Look* a bitter denunciation of French rule in Morocco which was deeply resented.

JM 1012/1 No. 11

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received February 6)

(No. 16. Confidential) *Rabat, February 3, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herein copies of my personalities report for the French Zone of Morocco.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. Freese-Pennefather.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in French Morocco

INDEX

Moroccan

1. His Majesty the Sultan, Sidi Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa
2. Ayadi, Hadj el Ayadi ben Hachemi
3. Balafrej, Hadj Ahmed
4. Bekkai, Ahmed ben Embarek Lehvil
5. Benabdjelil, Hadj Omar
6. Benjelloun, Abdelkrim
7. Berrada, Mohammed ben Driss
8. Bouazza ben Gheit, Moulay
9. El Glaoui, Hadj Thami el Mezouari
10. El Hajoui, Mohammed
11. Kettani, Hadj Abdelhai
12. Kettani, Abdel Kebir
13. Laghzaoui, Mohammed
14. Lyazidi, Mohamed
15. Marnissi, Hadj el Ghali
16. Mikwar, Ahmed bel Hadj Tahar
17. El Mokri, Hadj Hamad
18. El Mokri, Hadj Mohamed
19. El Mokri, Thami ben Hadj Mohammed
20. Naciri, M'Hamed
21. Ouezzani, Mohamed Hassan
22. Raho ou Bougrine, Caid
23. Sebti, Hadj Omar
24. Tazi, Hadj Abbes ben M'Hamed
25. Tazi, Hadj Mohamed
26. Zeghari, M'Hamed

French

27. Aucouturier, Gustave
28. Aymard, Camille
29. Baudouy, Robert
30. Boniface, Philippe
31. Butzer, Emile
32. Cahuzac, Albert
33. Couserges, Pierre
34. Cousté, Jean
35. Dauphin, Emile
36. Deleuze, René, Général de Division
37. d'Hauteville, Roger, Général de Division
38. Durand, Emmanuel
39. Dutheil, Jean
40. Duval, Raymond, Général de Corps d'Armée
41. Epinat, Jean
42. Eyraud, Emile
43. Faivre, Henri
44. Fauquenot, Emile
45. Felici, Charles
46. Fines, Jean
47. Girard, Georges
48. Granger, Pierre
49. Grimaud, Maurice
50. Gros, Maitre Louis
51. Guillaume, Augustin, Général d'Armée
52. Hutin, Georges
53. Lamy, Emmanual
54. Laparra, Armand, Général de Division
55. Lyautey, Pierre
56. Marill, Honoré
57. Mas, Pierre
58. Mas, Yves
59. Moins, Henri
60. Peyrouton, Marcel
61. Sahuc, Pierre
62. Sap, René, Contre-Amiral
63. Siraud, Pierre
64. Spitzer, Edmond
65. Thabault, Roger
66. Tour du Pin Verclause, Geoffrey de la
67. Vallat, Marcel
68. Walter, J.

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1. His Majesty the Sultan, Sidi Mohamed ben Moulay Arafa

Born at Fez, 1889. Proclaimed August 21, 1953, after the expulsion of Sultan Sidi Mohamed ben Youssef. Both temporal and spiritual head of the State though the extensive temporal powers which have been wielded autocratically by previous Sultans are now exercised in accordance with the advice of newly-established councils—he has, in fact, to accept whatever measures the Protectorate authorities desire, other than those which relate to religious matters. Lived a very modest and retired life prior to his accession and had not meddled in politics. Showed remarkable composure when attempt was made on his life in autumn, 1953. Has simplified palace ceremonial eliminating all customs which savoured of reverence to his person, and proclaims strong desire to modernise his empire, while preserving essential tenets of Moslem religion. Is a venerable figure, and is said to be knowledgeable about Arab culture, but does not talk any French. Married, two sons and three daughters.

2. Ayadi, Hadj el Ayadi ben Hachemi (Casablanca)

Caid of the Rehamna Tribe, north-east of Marrakech and the most powerful of the Berber Chiefs after the Glaoui. During the war was pro-German but was also anti-nationalist and anti-Sultan until 1952 when he had a personal quarrel with the Glaoui over a family affair. During the dethronement crisis he remained loyal to the ex-Sultan but at the end of the year made amends by calling on the new Sultan.

3. Balafrej, Hadj Ahmed

Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party.

Born 1907. Studied law and literature at the Sorbonne. Spent one year in Cairo. Founded the first modern Moroccan school in 1934. While in Paris as a student he directed the political review *Moghreb*. In 1936 directed a weekly newspaper of the Nationalist Party. Visited Paris several times to intervene on behalf of imprisoned Nationalists. Well known to the Socialists in France. After 1937 repressions he escaped to Paris to defend members of the party. In 1939 he left Paris for Switzerland for health reasons and during the German occupation of France came to Tangier from where he wrote to the party about the international situation and especially about the German danger threatening Morocco. After the American landings in 1943 he was permitted to return to Rabat. In January 1944 he directed the Istiqlal Movement and was arrested on military instructions. No charges were made against him. Exiled to Corsica until June 1946. He is now in New York, where he is running the "Moroccan Office of Information and Documentation" on behalf of the Istiqlal Party: he has also been very active at the United Nations. Married. Five children.

4. Bekkai, Ahmed ben Embarek Lehvil (Fez)

Born about 1912. Formerly Pasha of Sefrou. Reserve officer of the Spahis (Chef d'Escadron) Officier de la Légion d'Honneur. Fought in the last war and lost a leg. Formerly Honorary President of "Anciens Combattants," Fez section. Trained at the Dar-el-Beida, the Moroccan military college at Meknes. Very well educated. Speaks perfect French. Although a Nationalist, he was well liked by the French who considered him moderate and reasonable in his political views. Is very popular in France where he has innumerable friends. Has no personal fortune and did not feather his nest at Sefrou. In the deposition crisis Bekkai was almost the only Moroccan of note who had the courage of his convictions and remained loyal to the ex-Sultan.

5. Benabdjelil, Hadj Omar (Casablanca)

Born 1906. Studied in France at Agricultural School (Engineering). Began early in political affairs and organised movement against the "Dahir Berbére" in 1930. Signed and presented the Plan de Réforme Marocain in 1934. Travelled to France to intervene on behalf of Moroccan political prisoners. In 1937 was exiled until 1940. Member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party. Went to Paris in 1946 to explain the Moroccan situation to the French Government. Has been living at Boulhaut and acting as manager of the farm of a wealthy Moroccan merchant in Casablanca. Arrested in 1953. Married.

6. Benjelloun, Abdelkrim (Fez)

Born 1911. Studied law and literature in Morocco. Judge at the Shereefian High Court until 1944, when he was dismissed because he signed the manifesto addressed to the Sultan. Became lawyer and went to Paris in 1946 for information on French opinion on Moroccan questions. 1944 a member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party and normally lives in Fez, but he was sent into forced residence for political reasons early in 1953. Married.

7. Berrada, Mohammed ben Driss (Rabat)

Assistant Vizir for Economic Affairs.

Born 1907. Member of an important Moroccan family and son of an eminent professor of the Qarawiyin University where he studied. Since 1932 he has held various administrative appointments with exceptional distinction and in 1951 was appointed 'délégué" at the Department of Commerce. He is regarded as one of the coming men on whom the French place great hopes.

8. Bouazza ben Gheit, Moulay (Rabat)

Délégué of the Grand Vizir at the Department of Commerce.

Born 1914 at Zemmour, studied at Azrou and later at the military college of Dar-el-Beida. Served in the second world war in Italy and Germany (four citations and the Medaille Coloniale) reaching the rank of captain. In 1947 was made Chevalier of the Legion of Honour (Military). Cheerful and forceful personality who may go a long way in public life: speaks French well.

9. El Glaoui, Hedj Thami el Mezouari

Pasha of Marrakesh (since 1912).

Born about 1876. Head of the Glaoua family which assumed great importance in the south about hundred years ago. Rallied to French cause in 1912 and has remained faithful to them ever since. Holds many French military and civil decorations. Is very powerful, and organised the campaign which resulted in expulsion of Sultan Sidi Mohamed ben Youssef in August 1953. Is a son-in-law of the Grand Vizir and has had many sons, two of whom are Caids, and one of whom was killed during the war in Italy in 1944.

A real warrior of the old school, ruthless and resolute but mellowed with years. Has amassed a vast fortune, largely by the traditional methods, and owns a vast palace at Marrakesh, where he entertains royally besides having other palaces at Casablanca and Fez, and also the most notable Kasbah in Morocco (at Telouet). Is very pro-British and often visits England. A keen golfer.

10. El Hajoui, Mohammed (Rabat)

Vizir of Justice (since 1944).

Born 1875. Head of an important family traditionally friendly to the French. Since 1900 has held variety of public offices in different parts of the country, being concerned especially with education from 1921 to 1939. Was on the governing body of the Qarawiyin University. Appointed president of the Shraa Court of Appeal in 1939. Very cultivated: a distinguished theologian. Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Has two distinguished sons, of whom one has been Pasha of Oujda since 1944 and the other Assistant Director of Protocol since the present Sultan's accession.

11. Kettani, Hadj Abdelhai (Fez)

Shereefian head of the Kettani brotherhood.

Born about 1878. Extremely well read and up to date in politics and history. Lives in a large house near Bab Ftouh in Fez, which is almost a museum and contains a very valuable Arabic library (he was formerly librarian at the Qarawiyin University). Generally regarded as a French stooge, but speaks no French. In partnership with El Glaoui took a leading part in the recent deposition crisis.

12. Kettani, Abdel Kebir (Rabat)

Délégué of the Grand Vizir at the Department of Labour.

Born 1924 in Fez. Son of Abdelhai el Kettani (*q.v.*). Has been a member of the Third College in the Moroccan Section of the Conseil du Gouvernement. Young, eager and intelligent; talks excellent French.

13. Laghzaoui, Mohammed (ex-Fez)

Born about 1905. One of the most fanatical leaders of the Istiqlal Party. Married to the daughter of the late Ahmed Bouayed, a British naturalised person. Made a vast fortune since the war. Was on familiar terms with the ex-Sultan, to whom he

frequently offered valuable presents. His main business is public transport (passengers and goods) which is now run by his brother. Since 1951 he has been living in the United States with his wife and American-born child, and he is not allowed back into Morocco by the French. Is said to be handling vast sums of money which the ex-Sultan had been able to transfer to America during the last few years. Is reputedly hoping to obtain American nationality and to return eventually to Morocco as an American. Strongly anti-Communist.

14. Lyazidi, Mohamed (Rabat)
Born about 1901. Studied in Morocco at the Collège Moulay Youssef and Hautes Etudes Marocaines. Began as interpreter with the French administration. Wrote political articles to Algerian newspapers and directed the movement against the *Dahir Berbere* in Rabat. Exiled in 1930 for two years and afterwards became a member of the Comité d'Action Marocain. Was one of the signatories of the Plan de Reforme Marocaine. Arrested in 1936 and imprisoned for some weeks at Casablanca for having organised a meeting for the freedom of the press. Released after the intervention of Balafrej in Paris. Was editor of the Arab weekly—*L'Atlas*. In 1937 was exiled until 1941. Member of the Executive Committee of the Istiqlal Party. In 1947 was editor of *Opinion du Peuple*. Strongly anti-Communist. Now is the United States. Married.

15. Marnissi, Hadj el Ghali (Fez)
Born about 1885. Brother of Mohammed el Marmissi of Fez. Until lately Caid of Moulay Idriss, Zerhoun and dismissed by the French during their purge of pro-Sultan officials following the Casablanca riots of 1952. He was one of the Caids who refused to put his signature to an anti-Sultan declaration submitted to him by the French in 1951. He is now barred from entering the town of Moulay Idriss or going to his farm which is situated in that district. A wealthy land-owner. Married. Two of his sons have married French girls.

16. Mikwar, Ahmed bel Hadj Tahar (Fez)
Born about 1892. Prominent trader and land-owner, and normally official spokesman of the Istiqlal Party in Fez. Until the end of 1935 was on the list of British Semsars, but was struck off owing to his political activities which had become embarrassing. Was banished for several years to Boudenib by the French until 1940 and then again in 1944 by General Suffren who was commanding Fez. Is at present in "résidence forcée" in southern Morocco. Very clever; speaks French.

17. El Mokri, Hadj Hamad (Casablanca)
Pasha of Casablanca (since 1950).
Born about 1881. Son of the Grand Vizir (*q.v.*). Appears to be friendly to British, but not a very strong personality. Is presumed to get along well with the French.

18. El Mokri, Hadj Mohamed (Rabat)
Grand Vizir.
Born over hundred years ago. His family originally came from Tlemcen, Algeria. In 1889 assisted his father who was Treasurer of the Maghzen for the north of Morocco and from 1894 was representative of the Maghzen for the whole of Morocco. In 1904 Vizir of Finance and in 1906 second Moroccan delegate at the Algeciras Conference. In 1909, Sultan Moulay Hafid sent him to the capitals of Europe including Paris, Berlin and London to secure his recognition by the great powers and as Vizir of Finance he negotiated the second French loan to the Shereefian Empire. Stayed in Paris from 1909 to 1911 when he was appointed Grand Vizir. In the dethronement crisis he and the Maghzen changed their allegiance promptly to the new Sultan.
Remarkably energetic for his age he still appears at many official functions and presides over the "Restricted Council." He has many sons one of whom is the Pasha of Casablanca (*q.v.*) and another his Délégué at the Ministry of Finance (*q.v.*). One of his daughters is married to the Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh.

19. El Mokri, Thami ben Hadj Mohammed (Rabat)
Délégué of the Grand Vizir at the Department of Finance (since 1947).
Born 1899. Son of the Grand Vizir (*q.v.*). Studied first in Fez and then at Beirut, Geneva and Aix-en-Province: obtained a diploma in agriculture at Montpellier. From 1922–24 attached to Marshal Lyautey's Cabinet Civil and made responsible for directing propaganda for the modernisation of agricultural methods. Appointed Caid in 1932 and Pasha of Settat in 1939. Talks excellent French and is very friendly; usually accompanies his father to official functions.

20. Naciri, M'Hamed (Rabat)
Assistant Vizir for Administrative Affairs.
Born 1899. Became an orphan early in life and was brought up by his elder brother. Studied law and in 1921 became private secretary to Marshal Lyautey. After service in the Department of Shereefian Affairs he entered the Maghzan as a judge of the Shereefian High Court, becoming "Naib" (assistant) to the Vizir of Justice in 1931, a post which he resigned in 1943. In 1947 when General Juin became Resident-General he undertook the reform of the Maghzen and was appointed their legal adviser which post he held until his present appointment.

21. Ouezzani, Mohamed Hassan
Founder of the Parti Populaire Marocaine.
Deported to the Sahara, November 1937; his banishment was revoked in 1946 when he returned to Fez and re-named his party "Democratic Party of Independence." He started the newspaper *Ar-Ral-Alam* soon afterwards. Most moderate of the nationalists and tried for a long time to meet the French half-way but without success. In 1952 he went to Tetuan and Cairo where he was received by General Neguib after which he went to New York and back to Egypt. In June 1953 he obtained permission to reside in Spain and settled in Ceuta.

22. Raho ou Bougrine, Caid (Fez)
Born about 1900. Nephew of the late Caid el Ayachi of the Ait Aiach, a Berber tribe. The most important Caid in the Fez district with jurisdiction over Arab as well as Berber tribes. Speaks good French and a loyal friend of France. Extremely wealthy. His eldest son who is an agricultural engineer is married to a French woman. He has a commanding and active nature and is clever. Took a leading part in the deposition crisis and is likely to become a prominent figure.

23. Sebti, Hadj Omar (Fez)
Fez businessman, with one of the largest fortunes in Morocco. Was president of Chamber of Commerce and resigned in 1949 for being violently criticised by his countrymen for having made a speech which was interpreted as too pro-French. An active member of Istiqlal Party which he supports financially. An opportunist.

24. Tazi, Hadj Abbes ben M'Hamed (Rabat)
Pasha of Rabat (since 1951).
Born 1909. Belongs to one of the most important families in Morocco, which has been traditionally friendly to the French: his father was Mendoub at Tangier, a post now held by his brother: his other brother is Pasha of Fez (*q.v.*). Served on the municipality at Fez from 1930 to 1939 and at the Maghzen from 1939 to 1943.
Intelligent, courteous, wealthy: lives in a magnificent palace: speaks French. There was some question of his replacement after the dethronement crisis but he appears to be firmly in the saddle again.

25. Tazi, Hadj Mohamed (Fez)
Pasha of Fez (since August 1953).
Born about 1898. Brother of the Mendoub of Tangier and of the Pasha of Rabat: an old-established Mokhzen family of Fez. Was Pasha of Fez 1932–43, when he quarrelled with the Sultan. Given Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour in Paris, 1943, and also made an Honorary "Ministre Plénipotentiaire" of the French Republic. Intelligent and energetic: disliked by the Nationalists. Lives in a new palace, of not very good taste, on the border of the "medina."

26. Zeghari, M'Hamed (Fez)
Born about 1900. Educated at the Moslem College of Fez. Very clever, moderate and courteous, talks little. Ardent member of the Istiqlal Party. Much respected by the French who fear him. Speaks perfect French and has easy access to the Residency. Signed the Independence Manifesto in 1944 and was banished to Mazagan by General Suffren. In 1950 the Sultan offered him the post of Director of his Cabinet, but this nomination was turned down by General Juin, and as the Sultan did not insist with the French, Zeghari resented this, and resigned from the Chamber of Commerce and from the Conseil du Gouvernement. He is now manager of the "Grands Moulins Idrissia" at Fez, and was previously a bank manager and chairman of the Moroccan Chamber of Commerce at Fez. He is said to be a member of the Comité de la Libération de l'Afrique du Nord. Very well-off financially. Bachelor.

27. Aucouturier, Gustave (Casablanca)
Principal spokesman for the "colons" and for French business interests in Morocco.
Born 1892. President of the First College in the "Conseil du Gouvernement," of the Chamber of Agriculture at Meknès, of the Chambers of Agriculture of Morocco, of the Hard Wheat Commission (both in Morocco and in France), and of the "Union Docks Silos Maroc": Administrator of the "Banque Commerciale du Maroc" (affiliated with the "Crédit Industriel et Commercial" in France). Associated with Jacques and Georges Picot of the Suez Canal Company and with the Wenger-Valentin oil interests.
Perhaps the most influential Frenchman in the country, who has played a very active part also in Paris to ensure that government policy should amply safeguard all French vested interests here. Has taken important part in commercial negotiations with the French Government, including those for sale of surplus cereal crops from Morocco to France. Married.

28. Aymard, Camille (Casablanca)
Born 1889. Journalist. Director of *Paris*, a weekly newspaper which, however, since 1953 has appeared only intermittently. During the war he was a strong supporter of Vichy. Able, but on account of his vitriolic pen not popular with the Administration. Not very well disposed towards the British. Married.

29. Baudouy, Robert (Rabat)
Chef du Cabinet Diplomatique (since November 1951).
Born 1911. Attaché at Rome, 1939. Member of Franco-Italian Armistice Commission at Turin, 1941, and then member of French Economic Delegation at Rome. Placed *en disponibilité* by Vichy Government in 1943; reinstated in 1944. Pleasant and co-operative but rather cynical. Dislikes Rabat, and is critical of the set-up at the Residency-General. Speaks English, Turkish and Greek. Married to lady with musical tastes, who has child by former marriage.

30. Boniface, Philippe (Casablanca)
Born 1890. Chef de Région at Casablanca until October 1953. Able and vigorous with long administrative experience in Morocco, including the post of Directeur de l'Interieur at Rabat. Very popular but strongly criticised by the Catholic Right in France for his handling of the Casablanca riots in December 1952. With M. de Blesson and M. Vallat was regarded as having played a significant part in the dethronement crisis. Since his retirement he has become Administrateur of the Compagnie Continentale du Maroc. Still a man to be reckoned with and is believed to have influential backers for the Presidency of the Commission Municipale of Casablanca which is to be elected in June 1954. Pro-British. Married.

31. Butzer, Emile (Fez)
Born about 1900. Colonel. Retired from the army and contrary to his expectations did not obtain the post of Director of Public Security at Rabat which had been promised to him by General Juin. He instead became Directeur du Service de l'Artisanat Marocain at Casablanca where he is organising very successfully the export of Moroccan manufactured goods. Spends his week-ends at Sefrou where he has built a house. Since taking over his new duties he has already visited London and the continent investigating the possibilities of placing orders. Owing to his close acquaintance with many prominent Moroccans, including some Nationalists by whom he was trusted, he was used freely by the Chef de Région and the Résidence to sound out native opinion before the deposition crisis.

32. Cahuzac, Albert (Casablanca)
Director of Customs.
Born 1900. Responsible for the entire Moroccan customs administration. Friendly and co-operative. Used to be in Senegal and knows some of the British West African territories quite well. Bachelor.

33. Cousergues, Pierre (Casablanca)
President of the "Patronat" (employers' confederation).
A newcomer and little known except in business circles. He is also general manager of a large wool firm. Married.

34. Couste, Jean (Casablanca)
Délégué aux Affaires Urbaines, Casablanca.
Born 1896. Is the equivalent to Prefect of the City and ranks with but after the Chef de la Région. Long experience of Morocco. Popular with Arabs and French. Was expected to succeed M. Boniface (*q.v.*) on latter's retirement last year but was passed over in favour of M. Fauquenot then his junior in rank. Friendly and co-operative. Married with one daughter.

35. Dauphin, Emile (Casablanca)
President of Casablanca Chamber of Commerce (elected 1953).
An influential industrialist who enjoys a good reputation in business circles outside which, however, little is known of him.

36. Deleuze, René, Général de Division (Casablanca)
Commanding the Division at Casablanca.
Born 1895. An infantry officer and, according to those able to judge, an excellent soldier and commander. Genial and very alert. This is his third tour of duty in Morocco (he speaks Berber) and he also knows the Middle East well. Before coming here he commanded the 15th Division, which came under the central N.A.T.O. command, and seems to have enjoyed this assignment. Advocates a firm, strong hand in dealing with the Moors in any emergency and took impressive measures to maintain security in Casablanca in December 1952. Is liked by everybody and gets on well with the Americans. Speaks English. Pro-British. Married (second wife) with one child.

37. D'Hauteville, Roger, Général de Division (Casablanca)
Chef de Région, Marrakesh.
Born 1890. Capable administrator; has been at his present post for thirteen years though he is not very popular with anybody. Pro-Vichy during the war. Married.

38. Durand, Emmanuel (Rabat)
Assistant Secretary-General of the Protectorate (since 1949).
Born 1889. Is responsible, under the Secretary-General, for all administrative matters in the Protectorate. Has been in Morocco since 1912 and is extremely well-versed in all matters relating to his duties, as also in the history of the country. Very pleasant and helpful, and married to a cheerful wife. One grown-up daughter.

39. Dutheil, Jean Leon Joseph
Director of Public Security.
Born 1898. Had a long period of service in Morocco before the war. From 1945 to 1946 Governor of the Tyrol and from 1946 to 1950 served on the Inter-Allied High Commission in Austria where he was much liked by our own representatives. In 1951 was on the French delegation to the United Nations for Libyan discussions and then brought here by General Guillaume. A lieutenant-colonel in the reserve of officers, having served with distinction in both world wars. Calm, direct and determined, he seems to be an admirable choice as head of this responsible and efficient department. He is always forthcoming and helpful and both he and his wife are very popular.

40. Duval, Raymond, Général de Corps d'Armée
Officer Commanding in French Morocco since 1949.
Born about 1895. Entered St. Cyr, 1914; wounded in the first world war and later captured, he made several daring escapes from German prisoner of war camps; then served in Hungary and in Siberia. Served at Damascus, 1921, and afterwards as Military Attaché at Ankara. Appointed Chef du Cabinet Militaire at Rabat, 1933, after which he saw service all over Morocco. Général de Brigade in Italy 1944. Officer Commanding in Tunis 1945–49.
Strict disciplinarian in his military duties and rather alarming to his subordinates, he enjoys life thoroughly off parade and has wide interests comprising riding, shooting, tennis, under-water swimming, flying and gliding (pilots his aircraft), dancing, and archæology—despite his being lame in one leg from a war wound. Both he and his wife are very pro-British and send their children to England when possible.

41. Epinat, Jean (Casablanca)
Born about 1881. Biggest businessman of all, with large holdings in C.T.M. (Cie de Transports au Maroc), Omnium Nord Africain (largest holding company in Morocco), and other enterprises. Was a collaborationist. Now spends half his time in France.

42. Eyraud, Dr. Emile (Casablanca)
Editor of *Vigie Marocaine*: President of the "Fédération du 3ème College" (the appointive body representing the professions which sends several members to the Conseil du Gouvernement) and a member of the Conseil du Gouvernement.
Born 1889. Practised as a veterinary surgeon until 1940 but came into prominence in 1943 when he was appointed editor of the *Vigie Marocaine* on the confiscation of the Mas group of newspapers for collaboration. Now extremely active and influential as spokesman for the interests of the French residents in Morocco and does a good deal of lobbying at the Residency and in Paris. A Freemason. Member of the Radical Party. Obviously an intriguer and there are unpleasant rumours about his private life. Bachelor.

43. Faivre, Henri (Casablanca)
Born about 1900. Big businessman, vice-president Comité Central des Industriels, manager of Brasseries du Maroc, Industrie Cotonnière Marocaine (cotton) and has some interest in S.C.U.P.A. (Brasserie Argentine Quilmes). Friendly to British. Was very helpful during last war.

44. Fauquenot, Emile (Casablanca)
Chef de Région, Casablanca (since October 1953).
Born 1896. Joined up at seventeen in 1914 and served with distinction in World War I. Twenty-two years' service in colonial administration in Syria (where he worked for de Gaulle after the armistice in 1940): seconded Indo-China 1946; came to Morocco 1948. Casablanca is the plum of the Moroccan administrative service and his appointment to succeed M. Boniface (*q.v.*) last summer over the heads of several more senior officials at first caused surprise. But he has had plenty of experience of handling native administration in times of stress; *e.g.*, he was in Damascus during the troubles at the end of 1945. As Chef de Territoire at Saffi he acquired the reputation of determined advocate of the interests of his district. Modest and rather reserved but a sincere patriot, liberal and intellectual, with a strong sense of France's mission. Also somewhat straight-laced. In every way a contrast to Boniface but has already made a good impression. His wife is a rather quiet lady but pleasant: "Chevalière" of the Legion of Honour for services rendered in 1914–18 war. Both well-disposed towards us. Has a grown-up family, one son being married to an American.

45. Felici, Charles (Rabat)
Director of Commerce and of the Mercantile Marine.
Born 1895. His earlier career was in Tunis until 1945 when he was seconded to the department of which he is now head and which then also included the duties now covered by the recently-created Department of Agriculture. A hard-working and capable official who is always welcoming on the few occasions when one has direct dealings with him. Married.

46. Fines, Jean (Rabat)
Chef du Cabinet Civil.
Born 1907. Has diplomas in oriental languages, political science and Moroccan studies. Was head of the Political Section of the Department of the Interior for four years and has an excellent knowledge of Arabic. A clear thinking and competent official who is very well disposed to us. He and his wife are among the few French Protestants here and strong supporters of the Church which we are lent for services on official occasions.

47. Girard, Georges, O.B.E. (Rabat)
Director-General of Public Works.
Born 1897. A very pro-British and friendly man with a nice wife and family. The eldest daughter spent a year in Scotland. Created honorary O.B.E. for work done at Bône (Algeria) during the war. Speaks very little English.

48. Granger, Pierre, Général de Brigade (Fez)
Adjoint to Général Laparra and commands division at Fez.
Born 1899. A rigid, humourless officer of the old school, unpopular with his brother officers who admit, however, that he is the most able tactician in Morocco and would doubtless have been promoted general sooner, but for the fact the he was General Giraud's son-in-law. Widower with four children—his wife was taken by the Germans as a hostage with the children in 1942 and she subsequently died in a concentration camp. He is obsessed by this tragedy, lives a very secluded life and tries to cope, not very successfully, with his four rather independent children. Very religious with the highest moral principles and an overwhelming sense of duty. Speaks German but no English. Appears to be pro-British.

49. Grimaud, Maurice (Rabat)
Director of Information (with personal rank of "Préfet").
Born 1913. Previously served in the French Zone of Germany and at the International Refugee Organisation at Geneva. One of the officials whom General Guillaume brought with him on his appointment here. A very live wire who has done a great deal to make French policy here better understood abroad. Always pleasant and helpful. Married.

50. Gros, Maître Louis (Casablanca)
An attorney and Senator for Morocco in Paris.
Belongs to Peasant Party. Was brought up here and therefore knows Morocco well. Quite pleasant but not a man of very remarkable character or personality and his position in his profession is rather mediocre. As Senator, however, he acts as the mouthpiece for important interests. In 1940–43 an ardent Petainist and was active in the Vichy youth movement here.

51. Guillaume, Augustin, Général d'Armée
Resident-General in French Morocco and Inspector General of Armed Forces in North Africa since October 1951.
Born 1895: went to St. Cyr. Captured in November 1914, and, spite of several attempts to escape, spent rest of the war as prisoner. Posted to Morocco as captain in 1919, became an Officier des Affaires Indigénes and commanded Goums in pacification operations 1921–24, Military Attaché at Belgrade, 1924: Ecole de Guerre, 1926–28; returned to Morocco and took part in pacification campaigns, 1928–33: appointed to staff of War Council, 1936. Returned to Morocco, 1939, and on signature of armistice appointed Directeur des Affaires Politiques. Formed large body of Moroccan soldiers under noses of German and Italian Armistice Commissions and, as brigadier-general, led it successfully through campaigns in Corsica and Italy in 1943–44. Took part in invasion of France and Germany and appointed Grand Officer of Legion of Honour for his services. Military Attaché at Moscow, 1945–47: appointed to Germany 1947, where he was Commander-in-Chief French Forces, 1950–51. Is author of three books on military subjects. Speaks English, German, Italian, Arabic, Berber, Russian and Serbian.
He knows Morocco exceptionally well and maintains his contacts by frequent tours of the country. Essentially a soldier he much prefers dealing with people than with paper. He professes to be no politician but has a clear sense of political realities. On succeeding General Juin he patiently endeavoured to win over the former Sultan whom he had known well personally from his earlier service here but when co-operation proved impossible and opposition to the Sultan forced the pace, he dealt with the deposition crisis with impressive skill and promptitude.
He has a quiet and engaging manner, with an excellent sense of humour, and is obviously sincere. Both he and his wife dislike going out. Both very pro-British and they send their children to England.

52. Hutin, Georges (Rabat)
Secretary-General of the Protectorate.
Born 1899. Studied law and served in the "cabinet" of Marshal Lyautey. In 1946, appointed director of the "Office du Maroc" at Paris and thereafter held administrative appointments in France including those of "Prefet" of the Department of Landes and later of the Alpes Maritimes. A very jovial personality reputed to have strong support from political friends in France. He has firm ideas of his own as to how the country should be run and does not hesitate to take decisions on his own personal authority. His political views are realistic and more liberal than those of some of his senior colleagues. Is also a Conseilleur on the Municipality of Nice and does not conceal his preference for the south of France although. thoroughly interested in his present responsibilities. Had a fine record in the French resistance movement during the war.

53. Lamy, Emmanual Joseph Edouard (Rabat)
Director of Finance.
Born 1911. One of the most energetic and competent of the younger officials who has in addition an exceptional ability for presenting his technical problems to the public in a lucid and popular form. Always friendly and co-operative. He revived the polo club here but unfortunately had to give up playing owing to a bad fall. Both he and his wife speak English well and are very popular members of the Rabat community.

54. Laparra, Arnaud, General de Division (Fez)
Chef de Région, Fez (since 1946).
Born about 1893. Fought in 1914–18 war. Was Military Attaché in Warsaw before second world war; then in London with General de Gaulle and later fought in the Italian campaign. Was an observer in Athens on Commission supervising Greek elections.
Very pro-British and pro-American and criticised by the local French for being too pro-Arab. Socially very agreeable and hospitable, good-looking and genial. Enjoys a party and is unusually accessible for a man in his position. Easy going and popular with his staff. Speaks German, English, Polish and some Arabic. A widower with a son and four daughters, one of whom married recently.

55. Lyautey, Pierre (Casablanca)
Born 1890. Lives in Marrakesh and Paris. As nephew of Marshal Lyautey has considerable influence and he fought in both world wars. He was, however, friendly with members of the German Armistice Commission here and is an opportunist. Both he

and his wife are very hospitable and his wife talks good English: she was married before and has two children.

56. Marill, Honoré (Casablanca)
Born 1888. For many years president of Casablanca Chamber of Commerce; retired summer, 1953, and now President d'Honneur. Capable and still very influential in business matters. Popular and well-disposed towards us. Married but he always appears alone at social functions.

57. Mas, Pierre (Casablanca)
Wealthy financier, publicist and man of affairs.
Born 1884. Owns the Banque Mas. Owns the *Petit Marocain*, *Echo du Maroc* and *Echo de Fez* and is reputed to have re-asserted his control in the *Vigie Marocaine* also (which he formerly owned). Collaborated openly with the Axis powers during the war, placing his newspapers and even his house at their disposal; imprisoned after the Allied landings in 1942 when his newspapers were also confiscated (although he has now recovered control of them). Married with one son (*q.v.*) and a daughter who married a German officer during the war.

58. Mas, Yves (Casablanca)
Born 1918. Chief editor of *Petit Marocain*. Son of No. 57 and in character a thorough-going opportunist like his father.

59. Moins, Henri (Rabat)
Chef de Région, Rabat.
Born 1897. A large, pleasant but rather dull fellow. Has a pleasant wife who is president of the Rabat branch of the French Red Cross. Neither speak English but both are friendly.

60. Peyrouton, Marcel (Casablanca)
Born 1891. Resident-General in 1936, and then French Ambassador in Argentina. Minister of the Interior in France under Pétain and imprisoned for two years after liberation of France. Came to Casablanca about five years ago. Having severed his connexion with Maroc-Presse in 1952, he now lives in retirement though he still retains some connexion with the Epinat group (see No. 41). Married and has a grown-up daughter.

61. Sahuc, Pierre (Casablanca)
President of the "Comité Central des Industriels" (the Moroccan equivalent of the Federation of British Industries): also general manager of the Compagnie Sucrière, a very important monopoly.
Able and seems well-disposed towards us. Married.

62. Sap, René, Contre-Amiral (Casablanca)
Commander of French Naval Forces in Morocco (since spring, 1953).
Born 1901. Formerly major-general (*i.e.*, when Commander of the Naval Dockyard) at Toulon. Unlike his two predecessors who held the rank of vice-admiral, he is a young rear-admiral promoted only in 1952. A submarine expert, but he commanded the aircraft carrier *Arromanches* in 1947. Took part in evacuation from Dunkirk, 1940. Very pleasant personality and takes pains to maintain good relations with all foreign representatives and officers. A pleasant wife (both speak English) and three grown-up unmarried daughters.

63. Siraud, Pierre (Rabat)
Assistant Secretary-General of the Protectorate (since 1951).
Born 1907. Is responsible, under the Secretary-General, for economic and financial matters in the Protectorate. Studied at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques. Served on Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, 1935–39. Mobilised as a staff officer, 1939–40. In French resistance movement 1943–44. Second Counsellor at French Embassy, Washington, 1945–51.
Very young for so senior an appointment (ranking above the directors) but very capable. Has many cultural interests and entertains well. Always helpful. Speaks good English. Unmarried.

64. Spitzer, Edmond (Rabat)
Director of the Banque d'Etat du Maroc.
Born about 1898. Very friendly and very wealthy. Is not popular with some of the officials as he disagrees with their politics. His wife, who is charming, is one of the best-dressed women in Rabat and speaks some English (though he does not).

65. Thabault, Roger (Rabat)
Director of Education.
Born 1895. Studied Philosophy and took a degree of Doctor in Literature. Chief Inspector of Primary Education in France until 1945. Has had an important and difficult job in improving educational opportunities here. Is very co-operative and admires British institutions. Married.

66. Tour du pin Verclause, Geoffrey de la (Rabat)
Shereefian Counsellor.
Born 1914. Attaché at Madrid, 1942. After Allied landings served in Algiers and Tunis (Resident-General's "Chef du Cabinet"). Paris, 1945–48, from which he attended various conferences in London, New York and Moscow besides the General Assembly of the United Nations. First Secretary in Dublin, 1948: on United Nations Conciliation Commission in Palestine, 1949. Thereafter in Paris. Recreation: flying.
Both he and his wife talk good English and are well liked.

67. Vallat, Marcel (Rabat)
Director of the Interior (since 1948).
Born about 1898. Previously Chef de Région at Rabat. Knows the country exceptionally well and is the official primarily responsible for internal administration. Played prominent part in dethronement of ex-Sultan. Pleasant, reserved and rather a typical "fonctionnaire" of pre-war type. Married.

68. Walter, J. (Casablanca)
Born about 1898. Owner of Maroc-Presse and director of the Zellidja zinc and lead mines. A man of great wealth and very well in with the Americans. Was attacked in 1953 by his newspaper rival, Mas, for having made payments to the Istiqlal cause to ensure his position if they ever came into power: his resulting libel action was successful in the courts but the accusation itself was never satisfactorily cleared up. Married.

CHAPTER II.—SPANISH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1016/10 No. 12

TRIBAL HOMAGE TO SPAIN AND THE SPANISH HIGH COMMISSIONER

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Eden. (*Received January 22*)

(No. 2) *Tetuan,*
(Telegraphic) *January 21, 1954.*

My despatch No. 6 of January 21.

Representatives of tribes and towns throughout the Spanish Zone to-day rendered homage to Spain and the High Commissioner.

Grand Vizir presented casket containing 4,300 signatures to the High Commissioner who was accompanied by the Kahlifa's son and eldest brother. Grand Vizir then read to the High Commissioner manifesto informing him of the following views of the population of the Spanish Zone.

1. They repudiate French policy in the French Zone culminating in the dethronement of the legitimate Sultan.

2. They support the High Commissioner's policy in Spanish Morocco, do not recognise the authority of Mulay Arafa and obey only Prince Mulay Hasean, the Khalifa. Reaffirming the fundamental principles of Moroccan unity, always defended by Spain, they request temporary separation of the Spanish Zone as long as political conditions in French Morocco remain as they now are, and ask that the Khalifa should have full sovereignty in this zone without any dependence on Mulay Arafa.

3. They reaffirm loyalty to Spain and Caudillo.

4. They join with Spain in seeking the unity, freedom and greatness of Morocco.

High Commissioner replied thanking them warmly, criticising French policy and promising to convey to Caudillo the population's views and request.

JM 1013/5 No. 13

SPANISH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY REPORT

Period January–March 1954

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Eden. (*Received April 5*)

(No. 19. Confidential) *Tetuan,*
Sir, *April 1, 1954.*

With reference to my despatch No. 3 of the 9th January I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 31st March, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Tunis and Algiers, and to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure

Political Situation

The quarter was dominated by the Tetuan gathering of the 21st January. Some four hundred representatives of the tribes, towns and clergy of the whole zone were brought into Tetuan by the Native Affairs Department of the Spanish High Commission and had assembled by the evening of the 20th January. On the 21st, they formed part of a long procession which marched past the High Commissioner, who was accompanied by the son and two brothers of the Khalifa, by the senior

officials of the High Commission and by the Makhzen Government, and saw the Grand Vizier present to General Garcia-Valiño an album containing a petition bearing their signatures and purporting to express their views. This petition, as read out by the Secretary of the Grand Vizier, pronounced—

(i) repudiation of French policy and of the deposition of the legitimate Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Yusef;
(ii) support for the High Commissioner's policy in the Spanish Zone;
(iii) non-recognition of Mulay Arefa and obedience only to the Khalifa of the Spanish Zone;

and requested—

(i) the temporary separation of the Spanish Zone for the duration of the present political situation in the French Zone, against the background of the unity of the Moroccan Empire; and
(ii) full sovereignty for the Khalifa with no dependence of any sort on Mulay Arefa.

The gathering dutifully applauded the petition, the accompanying remarks made by the Grand Vizier, and the High Commissioner's reply in which after openly criticising French policy in Morocco, he promised to transmit the petition to the Caudillo. They were then given a Moorish banquet and despatched to their homes. By the morning of the 22nd nearly all those who had come from outside Tetuan had departed. As far as the Caids, the Pashas and the Ulema were concerned, the political side of the proceedings was entirely artificial; their assembly in Tetuan was managed by the Native Affairs Department of the High Commission; the petition read out in their name was written in the High Commission; and their signatures, which were attached to it, had been collected in advance, in some cases several months before, on blank paper.

2. The success of the Tetuan gathering was somewhat spoiled from the Spanish point of view by the failure of the Khalifa to attend as expected. The claim of "sovereignty" made for him in the petition and afterwards, however nebulous and ill-defined, seriously disturbed him because of its tendency to create a rift between himself and the members of the Alawite family living in Rabat; he followed up his failure to attend the Tetuan gathering by living in virtual retirement for the rest of the quarter and by permitting his sister and her husband (son of Mulay Arefa) to leave Tetuan in order to take up residence in Rabat.

3. The Tetuan gathering having, however, passed off otherwise as planned, the Spanish authorities proceeded to complete the operation. A small party of Moorish notables, headed by the Grand Vizier, was transported to Madrid, whither it had been preceded by the High Commissioner. On the 9th February, General Garcia-Valiño, in the presence of this Moorish delegation, handed to the Caudillo the album containing the Tetuan Petition and the signatures attached to it. General Franco replied accepting the petition and the homage of the population of the Spanish Zone.

4. As to the precise meaning which they wish to be attached to the Tetuan Petition and its acceptance by the Head of the State, the Spanish authorities seem to have had some difficulty in deciding. In an interview with the Cifra Agency immediately after the Tetuan gathering General Garcia-Valiño said that the "new requests" in the petition were the separation of the Spanish Zone from the French Zone and full sovereignty for the Khalifa as Prince of "what would be a purely Spanish Zone of Protectorate with equal obligations and rights to those of the French Protectorate." General Franco in his speech accepting the petition referred to the sovereignty of the Khalifa but did not stress, or even quote, General Garcia-Valiño's definition of the meaning of the petition. The concept of sovereignty was in turn given a diminished significance by a statement issued by the Information Department of the Spanish Government on the 15th February, in the course of which the sovereignty claimed for the Khalifa was declared to amount to no more than the delegated authority granted to him by the Franco-Spanish Convention of Madrid of November 1912. The effect of these various statements was to make it unclear as to exactly what status it was that the Spanish Government had claimed for their Khalifa. However, the general purpose of their elaborate manœuvres was clear; to assert Spanish equality with France in Morocco, and to provide an expression of Moorish opinion which could be quoted to the world in support of this claim in general and of the Spanish refusal to recognise Mulay Arefa in particular. If the Spanish Government expected the French Government to

acknowledge their claim to equality, their hopes had not, by the end of the quarter, been fulfilled.

5. With a statement by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs published in the French newspaper *Le Bulletin* on the 26th February, the flow of Spanish statements ceased. That the Spanish authorities had for the time being nothing more to say was shown by the fact that General Garcia-Valiño was able to receive three successive acts of homage, from Ceuta, the Tetuan press and the Army Chiefs, without saying anything new or provocative about Morocco. This lull in the issue of official declarations was followed by a resumption by the French and Spanish authorities of normal visa issuing practices, mutually suspended for some weeks, an improvement for which the French appear to have been responsible. At the end of the quarter there were also signs that the talks on inter-zonal commercial relations, called off by the Spaniards in January, might shortly take place, and there were indications that the mutual banning of French and Spanish newspapers might soon cease. On the other hand, the press and wireless campaigns which had for many weeks been conducted by both sides with great virulence showed no signs of diminishing in vigour, and, indeed, towards the end of March the Spaniards added broadcasting in the Sus (Southern Moroccan) dialect to those already being made in classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and Rifian; and the Spanish authorities maintained their ban on listening to Radio Rabat, imposed when that station suggested that Spain should restore Ceuta and Melilla to the Shereefian Empire.

6. At the end of the quarter it was not clear how the National Reform Party was going to react to the slight improvement of relations between the protecting Powers. Their first reaction to the Tetuan Petition had been one of alarm at its separatist tendencies. This was followed by a feeling of satisfaction at the deterioration of French-Spanish relations which followed the Tetuan gathering. The mood of the party turned to disappointment when the visit of the Moorish notables to Madrid produced nothing new or provocative in the way of anti-French declarations; and at this stage voices were raised in the party to suggest that if Spain were sincere in her protestations of friendship she should prove her sincerity by giving a real measure of autonomy to the Moors of the Spanish Zone. However, Torres, the leader of the party, was on the whole able to retain the support of the party for his policy of co-operation with the Spaniards, arguing that this policy enabled the Spanish Zone to be used as a place of refuge for the members of the Istiqlal and made it possible to conduct, through the party organ *Al Umma*, propaganda against France which was valuable to the Nationalist cause throughout North Africa. The extent to which Torres was prepared to go in order to retain Spanish goodwill was shown by his failure to conduct any sort of campaign in favour of Tayyib Bennuna, secretary-general of the party, and of Mohammed Al Khatib, who, arrested on the 21st December for writing letters defaming the High Commissioner and the Khalifa, were tried on the 26th March and sentenced to ten years' exile with, in the case of Khatib, a sentence of imprisonment as well. The passivity of Torres and the party in the face of these severe sentences was the subject of severe criticism among the Moorish population of Tetuan. There were also signs that Torres and the party would come in for adverse criticism because, in order not to upset the Spanish authorities, they did less than usual to turn into a day of mourning March 30th, the anniversary of the Treaty of Fez.

7. An expression of Moorish discontent with the authorities took place on the 29th March when some four hundred students marched in procession to the Khalifian Palace and the High Commission to protest against the poor food provided by the Spanish authorities at the Tetuan Institute of Moorish Secondary Education. The Khalifa was not up and refused to see them (thereby provoking the comment from one of the young men that the Khalifa ought to have been up and looking after his people in the manner of General Neguib). The High Commissioner received the deputation and ordered an immediate investigation. It is believed that the main instigators of the protest were students from the Karawin University at Fez who had taken refuge in Tetuan during the past six months.

Administration

8. From the 24th to the 26th March the High Commissioner made a tour of inspection of Government establishments in Larache and Alcazarquivir. He made no political speeches during this tour.

A dahir was published on the 12th March approving a credit of 24 million pesetas in 1954 as an instalment on a total expenditure

of 70 million pesetas to be spent over three years for the improvement of agriculture, afforestation, housing and Moorish education.

Señor José Bermejo y Gómez formally took up his post as Delegate-General at the end of February.

Colonel Luis Carvajal relinquished the post of Delegate for Education and Culture on appointment to command the legion at Larache: he was obliged to revert to military life in order to safeguard his prospects of promotion. He was succeeded as Delegate for Education by Colonel José Bermejo, formerly Deputy Delegate for Native Affairs.

Señor Eduardo Sentchordi was appointed Delegate for Finance in succession to Señor Agustín Achútegui.

The appointment of Señor Díaz de Tuesta, Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the High Commission, as Spanish Minister in Tripoli was officially gazetted on the 27th March.

M. Michel Fontaine assumed his duties as French Consul-General on the 20th March.

Gibraltar

9. No demonstrations were permitted or organised by the authorities. There were a number of unfriendly articles in the press.

Rear-Admiral H. P. Currey, O.B.E., Flag Officer, Gibraltar, visited Tetuan on the 13th and 14th March on his way to the French Zone. He called on the High Commissioner and on the Chief of the Naval Forces of Spanish North Africa.

JM 1013/8 No. 14

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1954

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Eden. (*Received July 9*)

(No. 30. Confidential) *Tetuan,*
Sir, *July 5, 1954.*

With reference to my despatch No. 19 of the 1st of April I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on June 30, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Tunis and Algiers and to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Political Report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1954

Although there were no spectacular demonstrations like the Tetuan gathering of January, there were no indications that Spanish ambitions in North Africa had been in any way modified. Nevertheless, there was a perceptible improvement in the day-to-day relations between the Spanish and French Zones; the Press and radio war, in particular, subsided; the Spanish High Commissioner did not evince much enthusiasm for the process.

2. Spanish policy towards the Moors of the Spanish Zone fluctuated between conciliation and repression. In April, a free pardon was given to the recently sentenced Nationalists, Tayyib Bennune and Mohammed al Khatib (paragraph 6 of the March quarter political report). In May a group of Nationalists were arrested at Arcile for talking to the Secretary-General of the Arab League when not licensed to do so. Early in June the Spaniards arrested a group of members of Wazzani's

Democratic Party, apparently because their leader, at present in Cairo, had criticised Spain: the son of the Moorish Minister of Agriculture, for agitating in Madrid against the Spanish Protectorate; and the Khalifa's business agent, Ellie Cohen, apparently because he was thought to be carrying messages from the Khalifa to Mulay Arafa and El Glaoui. By the end of the quarter most of these men had been released. Relations between the High Commissioner and the Khalifa, however, were none too cordial as the latter strongly resented both the arrest of Cohen and the High Commissioner's refusal to allow his Chamberlain, Ahmed Bel Bashir (also suspected of carrying messages to Mulay Arafa and El Glaoui) to travel outside the Spanish Zone.

3. Apart from these arrests, the main features of the month were the visit of the Secretary-General of the Arab League and the speculation which followed the change of Resident-General in Rabat. Abdul Khaliq Hassuna arrived in Tetuan on May 6 and left on May 10. His visit was carefully managed by the Spanish authorities in such a way as to do him as much honour as possible while minimising his opportunities of stirring up Nationalist feelings; in fact, although he met the Nationalist leaders privately, he made no inflammatory speeches. The visit was chiefly remarkable for a public confession by the High Commissioner, at an official banquet given in Hassuna's honour, of the absence of material progress in the Spanish Zone.

4. The appointment of M. Lacoste worried both the Spaniards and the Nationalists, since both stand to lose if he scores a success with the Nationalists of the French Zone. Moorish opinion confidently expected that the Spanish authorities would make some dramatic gesture intended to show that whatever M. Lacoste might do Spain was still the Moors' best friend. In this atmosphere ready credence was given to stories from Cairo that when Hassuna returned from Tetuan and Madrid he brought with him a "plan" for future Spanish policy; the main points of the supposed plan were:—

(1) The Makhzen to be reformed to include Torres as Grand Vizier and several of the Nationalists as Ministers, and to claim to be the Government of the whole of Morocco.

(2) The Khalifa to be proclaimed Regent for the deposed Sultan Mohammed V (an improbable scheme at this stage in view of the known attitude of the Khalifa). By the end of the quarter there had been no signs on the Spanish side that anything so ambitious was being prepared; indeed the High Commissioner's latest public utterance, a statement to the Tetuan Press on his return from Madrid on June 18, was platitudinous in the extreme and offered nothing to the Moors but a vague offer of more administrative posts at some unspecified future time.

5. The "plan" had a mixed reception in the National Reform Party, which had recently held its annual congress and had published a statement of its policy in which the views of the various factions within the party were laboriously balanced. Torres and other potential Ministers welcomed it; their critics said that the new Makhzen would have no more power than the present and that the "plan" did not give the Moors their rights, effective self-government at once.

Administration

The High Commissioner and the Khalifa took the salute at the annual victory parade on April 1.

The High Commissioner made further tours in his zone. On the third anniversary of his appointment he received acts of "homage" from the civil servants and the district governors of the zone. He led a pilgrimage from Tetuan to Santiago de Compostella.

On his return from Madrid on June 18 the High Commissioner announced that he had obtained authority to spend at once the whole of the sum voted for the Muluya dam scheme instead of the present limited outlay of 30 million pesetas a year. (Reports from eastern Morocco suggest that accelerated activity on the Spanish side is badly needed.)

Sr. Ricardo Muñiz y Bardugo assumed charge of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the High Commission on May 18. His predecessor, Sr. Angel Díaz de Tuesta, left on May 26 to take up his post as Spanish Minister to Libya.

Miscellaneous

The local Spanish Press followed that of Madrid on topics of the day such as Gibraltar, Anglo-French decadence, and the American alliance. The Nationalist paper *Al Umma* had an offensively gloating article on the fall of Dien Bien Phu.

The Nationalist Press published two articles about the " World Congress to Free Colonised Countries " presided over by Mr. Fenner Brockway.

An Italian Military Mission visited and was fêted in Tetuan on April 19.

JM 1013/12 No. 15

POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1954

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Eden. (*Received October 15*)

Tetuan,
October 5, 1954.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 30 of the 5th of July, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on September 30, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tangier, Tunis and Algiers, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
L. F. L. PYMAN.

Political Report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended September 30, 1954

The most interesting feature of the quarter was an attempt by the Spanish authorities to bring Torres, the leader of the National Reform Party, into the Makhzen. Negotiations opened in July but broke down because Torres refused to enter the Makhzen unless it was given greater authority, and this the Spaniards refused to concede. Negotiations were revived in September, the Khalifa this time being used as intermediary, again without success. Nationalist hopes of a speedy advance towards autonomy had by the end of the quarter been virtually extinguished both by the Spanish attitude in the Torres negotiations and by two public pronouncements of Spanish policy; the first of these occurred in the High Commissioner's address to the Khalifa on the occasion of the Aid Al Kabir, in the course of which the only hope of progress which he held out was a promise of participation in the present administration for qualified Moors; the second was an obviously inspired article in the *Diario de Africa* in which Hassuna, Secretary-General of the Arab League, was told to mind his own business, he having suggested in a message published in *Al Umma* of August 30 that the Spanish Zone was to be given autonomy in 1955, and the Moors of the zone were warned that they would not receive autonomy by 1955 or any other fixed date. The cumulative effect of these various discouragements was to cause great depression among the local Nationalists, which they vented on Torres, blaming him for not providing better results from his policy of collaboration with the Spaniards. Torres for his part continued to defend his policy in the Press.

2. The Aid Al Kabir passed quitely; the great majority of the population of Tetuan obeyed the Nationalist injunction not to make the usual sacrifice; in the country districts the ban seems to have been ignored.

3. The European anniversary of the deposition of Mohammed V was celebrated by a large and peaceful National Reform Party demonstration, arranged

in concert with the Spanish authorities; the demonstrators carried portraits of the deposed Sultan through the streets and left petitions calling for his restoration with the Khalifa and the High Commissioner. The demonstration was chiefly remarkable for the participation of women for the first time, it appears, in local history.

4. During the quarter the Spaniards showed their usual intolerance of criticism, expelling the Democratic (Shura) politician Brahim al Wazzani apparently because his relative, Mohammed Hasan al Wazzani, leader of the party, had criticised them from Cairo, arresting some thirty-six Moors who had organised a boycott of a Spanish meeting at Alcazarquivir and arresting a party of peasants from the Lukus Valley who had come to Tetuan to complain about the expropriation of their land by a Spanish company.

5. At the beginning of July there was a riot involving a member of Abdel Kerim's family at Beni Busyyash in the Beni Uriaghil district of the Rif. The incident proved to be of purely local significance and there were no other signs of trouble in the Rif.

Administration

6. The High Commissioner paid a short visit to Madrid at the beginning of August. He was active in touring the western part of the zone. In July he opened 200 new houses for Moors built by the Tetuan municipality.

7. On July 18 the High Commissioner presented the Khalifa with the Gold Medal of Tetuan (as presented to Franco in February). On July 19 the Khalifa presented the Gold Medal to the High Commissioner.

8. Angel Alonso Castrillo (head of the Currency and Banking Section in the Department of Economy) succeeded Colonel Luis Carvajal as Territorial Head of the Falange for Spanish North Africa.

9. Victor Sánchez-Mesas y Juste took up the post of Spanish " Consul " in Tetuan in succession to Martín Pérez Polo who shot himself in July.

Miscellaneous

10. *Al Maarifa*, organ of the Democratic (Shura) Party, was allowed to resume publication in August.

JM 1016/114 No. 16

HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF NATIONAL REFORM PARTY IN SPANISH MOROCCO

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (*Received November 26*)

(No. 45. Confidential)

Tetuan,
November 19, 1954.

Sir,

In case it may be of interest, I have the honour to give below a survey of the history and present condition of the National Reform Party of the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

2. The National Reform Party (Hizb al Islah Al Watani) was formed in 1936 by Abdul Khaliq Torres, a rich and well-educated Moor of Tetuan, from Spanish zone members of the nationalist movement started some years earlier in Fez by Mohammad el Fassi. From the beginning it had a central committee in Tetuan and branches in Alcazarquivir, Arcila, Chauen and Larache. Its programme was to promote Moroccan independence and its ideas were given publicity in the party organ *Al Hurriya* (Freedom). It took over and continued the work of the Tetuan " Free Institute " a school for Moorish secondary education, founded previously as a private venture, to which many of to-day's younger nationalists owe their early education. From the first the National Reform Party had to compete with rivals for the leadership of local nationalist feeling, for in 1937 another nationalist party, the Moroccan Unity Party (Hizb al Wahdat al Maghribiya), was founded by

Mohammad al Mekki Nasiri, a political fugitive from French Morocco; consequently the nationalist movement was for some years kept in a state of internal strife by the rivalries of the two parties and their leaders; by the Spanish authorities they were both given a certain liberty and assistance in various ways with a view no doubt to obtaining Moorish support for Franco; for instance, in 1937 Torres was given the post of Director of Religious Endowments in the Makhzen administration and held it for some eight months, and the National Reform Party was allowed to have a youth movement, organised on Falange lines, which paraded in green shirts.

3. In 1943 the Spanish authorities apparently came to the conclusion that the nationalist movement had gone far enough and General Orgaz, the High Commissioner, ordered a complete cessation of nationalist activity. This ban was applied with equal severity to the National Reform Party which was pro-German (its leader, Torres, was in German pay but does not seem to have done much to earn it) and to the Moroccan Unity Party which had preserved a neutral attitude.

4. In 1946 General Varela, having succeeded General Orgaz as High Commissioner, the Spanish authorities again reversed their policy and permitted the nationalist parties to resume operations and to publish their newspapers. Encouraged by this return to favour and by a visit of Balafraj, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party, the nationalists embarked on a campaign of criticism of Spain, as a result of which the National Reform paper was suspended. Torres then went to Cairo to seek the support of the Arab League but apparently with little success. On his return to Morocco in February, 1948, Torres made a speech in Tangier glorifying Abdel Krim (whom he had met during his visit to Cairo) and declaring that if Moroccan independence could not be secured by peaceful means force would have to be used. This speech gave serious offence to General Varela who refused to allow Torres to return to the Spanish zone. In Tetuan the nationalists protested vigorously against this measure, they organised a three-day closure of Moorish shops and schools and finally a public demonstration. This proved too much for Spanish tolerance of Moorish nationalism; the demonstration was broken up by armed police, who killed and wounded a small number of demonstrators in the process; the entire central committee of the National Reform Party was arrested and removed to " El Hacho " prison in Ceuta and kept there for some five months; Mohammad Tanji, regarded by the Spaniards as the ringleader, was kept in " El Hacho " for a year more and further punished by the forced sale of his goods to pay the fine of 25,000 pesetas levied on him; and some 300 sympathisers with the nationalist cause, mostly young men, were taken to police headquarters, beaten, and detained for some four months. These measures effectively broke the nationalist movement in the Spanish zone and for the next four years it showed no signs of life within the zone.

5. During this period Torres remained in Tangier, as did Nasiri, whose party had not joined in the demonstrations. They were there joined by Tayyib Bennuna, Secretary-General of the National Reform Party, and Mohammad al Khatib, a member of its central committee, on their release from " El Hacho " prison. In Tangier the nationalist leaders from the Spanish zone had frequent meetings with those from the French zone and in April, 1951, a National Front was formed, composed of the French zone parties, Independence (Istiqlal), leaders Allal al Fasi and Balafraj, and Democratic (Shura), led by Mohammad Hasan al Wazzani, and the Spanish zone parties, National Reform (Islah Al Watani), led by Torres, and Moroccan Unity (Wahdet Maghribiya), headed by Nasiri. The four parties drew up a common programme and bound themselves, among other things, to work for the complete independence of Morocco, to refuse to accept the application to Morocco of the principle of the French Union and to refrain from co-operating with the Moroccan Communist party. The National Front, however, set up no organisation to co-ordinate the activities of its member parties and practical co-operation seems to have been left very much to chance. In the event, close co-operation developed between the Independence and National Reform Parties: the Democratic party usually went its own way (at least in respect of the Spanish zone where it acquired a small following) and Nasiri ceased to visit or concern himself with the affairs of the Spanish zone.

6. In February, 1952, the Spanish Government, apparently with the aim of posing before the Arab world as the friend of Moroccan nationalism, began a further attempt to work with and manipulate the nationalist movement in the Spanish zone. General Garcia-Valiño, who had then been High Commissioner for about a year, allowed Abdul Khaliq Torres to return to Tetuan, where he

received a warm popular welcome, and in due course allowed the National Reform Party organisation to operate and the party organ, renamed *Al Umma,* to appear. The central committee of the party was reconstituted and the party branches in the main towns were reopened, with an additional one at Villa Nador in the Kert region. The party, however, made very little headway as it was not allowed much scope by the Spaniards, and its paper, *Al Umma,* had constant trouble over the censorship of its articles; indeed in the summer of 1952 the paper was obliged to cease publication and remained out of circulation for some fifteen months. The party's difficulties were increased by the encouragement given by the Spaniards to rival parties; Nasiri no longer interested himself in the Spanish zone but the Spaniards set up a puppet party, the Free Morocco (al Maghrib al Horr) and allowed it a newspaper. They then proceeded, a much more serious matter for the National Reform Party, to encourage the Democratic (Shura) party and in July, 1953, gave permission for its leaders Mohammad Hasan al Wazzani and Ahmed ben Suda to take up residence in Ceuta, whence visits to the zone were permitted; they also gave a subsidy to the fortnightly paper *Al Maarifa* which was allowed to appear as the party organ. Thanks to these facilities the Democratic Party began to build up a certain following among the nationalists of the Spanish zone.

7. The National Reform Party was thus not prospering when the situation was suddenly transformed by the deposition of Mohammad V. The Spanish authorities embarked on a campaign of anti-French propaganda and, in order to give colour to their claim that they, unlike the French, attached importance to Moorish opinion, found it desirable to give greater scope to the nationalist movement in their zone and, in particular, to encourage the National Reform Party as the best organised of the nationalist groups. The National Reform Party, for its part, was genuinely disturbed by the French action, and, despite some misgivings at the separatist tendencies revealed in Spanish propaganda, willingly associated itself with the Spanish criticisms of French policy; the party also gave a warm welcome to the nationalist fugitives from the French zone to whom the Spanish authorities granted asylum. In these circumstances relations between the High Commission and the National Reform Party improved considerably and the party was enabled to display greater activity and to acquire a certain status in the public life of the zone. For instance, the party organ *Al Umma* resumed publication in October, 1953, and has appeared daily ever since, contributing considerably both to the growth of popular nationalist sentiment and to the improved standing of the party; the party leader, Torres, participated in the Tetuan gathering of January 21, 1954, subsequently appeared at various official functions in Tetuan and was offered (although on terms which he could not accept) a Ministerial post in the Makhzen; in June, 1954, the party held a Congress in Tetuan; in August, on the solar anniversary of the deposition of Mohammad V, it organised a large demonstration in his favour, in which women participated for the first time in local history; and in November, 1954, the party took a leading part in the celebration of the anniversary of Mohammad V's accession to the throne. The party has, of course, remained very much on sufferance and has had several sharp reminders of this, such as the detention of its Secretary-General for four months and the punishment of some of its members who acted as stewards at the August demonstration. But it can be said in the last fifteen months to have established and consolidated its position as an important focus of local nationalist sentiment.

8. It may here be noted that the registered strength of the party is small. Some 1,500 people pay the party's monthly subscription of 10 pesetas, while the circulation of the daily *Al Umma* is 1,500 (compared with the 900 of the bi-lingual daily *El Dia-An Nahar* and the 1,200 of the Democratic Party's fortnightly *Al Maarifa*). The National Reform Party cannot be said to monopolise nationalist sympathies because the Democratic (Shura) Party has a considerable appeal. The National Reform Party is, however, much more effectively organised than the Democratic party which has at present no resident leader of any importance (Mohammad Hasan al Wazzani left North Africa in October, 1953; Ahmed ben Suda and Brahim al Wazzani were expelled by the Spaniards in June, 1954) and no daily newspaper; consequently, although it may sometimes take the limelight because of the criticisms of Spain which its leader Mohammad Hasan al Wazzani makes from abroad, it cannot at present keep itself before the public eye as consistently as does the National Reform Party. Because of its party organisation and its daily newspaper the latter is at present bound to attract the interest and sympathy of most nationalist-minded townsmen.

9. One of the main difficulties confronting the leaders of the National Reform Party is that of holding the party together. One section, while it has been happy

enough to join the Spaniards in denouncing the French, is in favour of pressing the Spanish authorities to grant immediate autonomy to their zone; this militant section is sensitive to voices from abroad (such as that of the Secretary-General of the Arab League who visited the zone in May, 1954) urging that Spain must be made to grant autonomy forthwith; the Communist broadcasts from Budapest also, despite an *Al Umma* editorial written by Torres denouncing Communism, have the effect of increasing the spirit of militancy. This section of the party finds it difficult enough to envisage an indefinite wait for autonomy and to endure in silence the slow rate at which the administration of the zone is Morocconised; it is outraged when the party leader appears publicly to accept and approve this slow rate of progress, as Torres did in an interview with Sr. Gómez Aparicio, published in October. This interview, in which Torres was reported as saying that the Moors of the Spanish zone were not yet ready for autonomy and could not possibly take over the administration, seriously damaged his reputation in the party and gave new life to the accusation often made against him that the main reason for his pursuit of a policy of collaboration with the Spanish authorities was that the High Commission had bribed him to follow it. Nevertheless he is likely to retain his leadership of the party because there is no alternative leader available and because his critics know, however much they dislike the knowledge, that collaboration, or at least the appearance of collaboration, is the only practical policy.

10. Moreover, despite the disparity of power between the National Reform Party and the Spanish régime in Morocco, and despite his apparent submission to Spanish views, Torres is in a stronger position *vis-à-vis* the Spanish authorities than sometimes appears at first sight. While the Spanish authorities could suppress nationalist activity in this zone and hold up indefinitely the Morocconisation of the administration and the grant of autonomy without evoking any effective local protest, to do so would provoke violent criticism from the Arab League and the various organs of Arab nationalism outside this zone and would be disastrous for the Spanish policy of friendship with the Moslem world. As long as the Spanish Government hold to this policy Torres can therefore keep his party in being, provided that it does not go too far in criticising Spain, and may, by playing skilfully on Spain's desire to stand well with the Arab world, be able to force the Spaniards to Morocconise the administration and eventually grant internal autonomy more quickly than they really desire to do these things. Certainly it will be the aim of the party leadership to exploit these possibilities to the utmost.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Algiers and Tunis, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

D. F. L. PYMAN.

CHAPTER III.—INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/1 No. 17

POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1953

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received January 9)

(No. 1. Confidential) *Tangier, January 5, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the Quarter ended the 31st December, 1953.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure to No. 17

General

The excitement generated by the deposition of the Sultan in August faded away as far as Tangier was concerned during the Quarter, but relations between the French and Spanish, which were seriously upset by that affair, continued to be bad. Each took every possible opportunity of administering petty pin-pricks to the other and obstructing each other generally, with a result beneficial to no one.

2. The Spanish representative on the Committee of Control frequently during the Quarter attempted to expand the discussion of local Tangier questions to cover subjects of Franco-Spanish disagreement which are not within the powers of the Committee, and the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan in his campaign against the French has shown signs of wanting to interfere in Tangier to an unjustifiable degree. The Moorish population in general remained lethargic, and uninterested in these squabbles, with the result that the attention of the European population was directed to events in the French and Spanish rather than the International Zones.

Moroccan and Nationalist Affairs

3. During the month of October " Black Hands," the insignia of the so-called terrorist organisation in French Morocco, appeared on several walls in Tangier. It seems at least possible that this was partly the work of sportive urchins who enjoy seeing the police called out. At the same time, the Mendoub received threatening letters. He appears to have taken these threats fairly seriously, and since then has had a permanent police guard in his motor car. A number of Moors were arrested early in the Quarter on the grounds that they were plotting against either the Sultan or the Mendoub, and were handed over to the Mendoubian courts. At the end of December it was understood that a number of these Moors were still in prison, their cases not having come up for trial. Although there has been no official banning of the Nationalist Parties in Tangier, word was passed round from the Mendoubia that any political activities on their part would result in restrictive measures being adopted. Either for this reason or from natural prudence, overt activity has practically ceased.

4. In mid-November, the Mendoub issued an order prohibiting all cafés from reproducing broadcasts in Arabic originating either in Egypt or Spanish Morocco.

5. The anniversary of the Feast of the Throne of the previous Sultan in November passed without any incident in Tangier. A number of Nationalists planned to go to Tetuan where it was being celebrated, but the Spanish Consulate refused visas to all except a few who were known to be pro-Spanish, as they feared that French agents would be infiltrated among the others and would seize the opportunity of spreading propaganda in favour of the new Sultan. The visit to Tetuan from the 10th to the 14th of December of Ahmed Chukeri, the Assistant Secretary-General to the Arab League, does not appear to have caused any excitement in Tangier.

6. The Cherif Darkaoui who had returned to Tangier early in September after serving a three-year sentence in French Morocco, was expelled from the Zone on the 14th of October at the request of the Spanish Ambassador. The United Kingdom representative on the Committee of Control voted against this; the United States and French representatives abstained. El Darkaoui travelled from Tangier to Egypt via France.

7. Two prominent members of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier, viz Abdelkebir el Fassi and Hassan Kassara, who had taken refuge in Spanish Morocco immediately after the deposal of the Sultan, were expelled by the Spanish authorities and returned to Tangier in October.

Reform of the Statute and Committee of Control

8. After lengthy conversations in an effort to compose Spanish and French differences on the nomination of the Moroccan judge, which differences had threatened at the end of the previous Quarter to delay the entry into force of the reforms, the Committee of Control eventually realised that further delay was futile and were forced to vote (7–1) in favour of the Moroccan judge nominated by the

Mendoub. Although the French had undoubtedly been tactless to a degree, the Spanish were undoubtedly wrong on a point of law. This vote in the Committee in October loosened the log jam, and the dahirs necessary to bring the Judicial Convention into force appeared shortly afterwards in Rabat (it was noted that the dahirs had been signed by the Sultan in mid-September and only approved by the Resident General in mid-October). The International Jurisdiction was subsequently inaugurated with pomp and ceremony on the 17th of November. This made it technically possible, according to the French and Portuguese theses, for the Administrative Reforms to come into force; but as, except for the constitution of the Mixed Information Bureau, they had, for practical purposes, been in force for six weeks, no one suggested that there should be any ceremony. The French for a long time made no move to bring the Mixed Information Bureau into being, with the result that the Spanish Head thereof remained for weeks in solitary splendour without colleagues or staff. Although this Franco-Spanish organisation now officially exists, it would be astonishing if co-operation between the French and Spanish members were anything more than the necessary formal minimum.

9. An example of the pettiness to which the French and Spanish have descended is a recent protest by the Spanish Ambassador that the French Assistant Administrator has no right to a telephone and gardeners unless the Spanish Assistant Administrator has them also. It is not worth recording all the individual squabbles for historical purposes, but only that there were several, most of which will probably never have any importance at all.

10. One incident concerning the new International Jurisdiction, however, brought the French and Spanish representatives together again in united opposition to at least four other members of the Committee. Before the new judges had been installed, the old predominantly French/Spanish Assembly of Magistrates proposed a number of increases and promotions in the staff of the Court. This obvious attempt by the Spanish and French judges to guard the future of their protegés was stopped in the Committee of Control. Almost identical proposals were put up again ten days after the new judges had been installed and before they had had time to settle in and digest what they found. The immediate adoption of these proposals was hotly discussed in the Committee of Control in December. The Portuguese, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Italian and Belgian representatives (the last two with a little wavering) opposed; the French and Spanish pressed strongly in favour. The Spanish Ambassador even made the astonishing statements (*a*) that the Committee of Control has no executive power, though it was he who insisted in 1952 that the Committee should retain the power to legislate by ordinance, and the proposal before the Committee was that such an ordinance should be made to execute the recommendations of the judges, and (*b*) that his legal expert had never accepted the recommendations on the point under discussion of the legal experts party in 1952. The result of the Committee's discussion was that the Assembly of Magistrates is to be asked to provide further information in support of their recommendations.

11. The Spanish Ambassador, who should have retired for reasons of health and age, was again frequently away from Tangier, but was ably represented by his Chargé d'Affaires, who originally came here to succeed him.

12. The French Minister was less calm and more irritable and inexact than has been his habit. In his attacks on the Spanish—for political reasons—and on the Portuguese Administrator—for personal as well as justifiable reasons—he was by no means always on very sound ground. It is generally thought that in the New Year he will make every possible effort to find himself another post. On the 29th of December he handed over the Presidency of the Committee to his unenthusiastic British colleague.

13. The Netherlands Minister, having been transferred to Manila, is expected to leave in January. The Minister for the United States was away for the whole Quarter attached to the United States Delegation to the United Nations.

Administration

14. *Budget.*—The Budget was passed by the Legislative Assembly in December (when luckily the British Vice-President was able to secure the passage of a motion that in no circumstances should the reserve fund be allowed to fall below 100 million francs), and came to the Committee of Control on the 21st of

December. It showed technically a surplus on the Ordinary Budget of some 30 million francs, and on the Extraordinary Budget of 95 million francs. There are, however, liabilities in view of some 500 million francs for public works voted in previous years, and anything from 400 to 800 million francs to rescue the grossly mismanaged concession for the supply of electricity and water. The Committee of Control, alarmed by the prospect and by the extravagant and not always philanthropic tendencies of the Administrator, decided with the help of various little devices and the British Vice-President's resolution mentioned above, that it could be maintained that the Budget was not balanced and therefore could under the Statute be sent back to the Legislative Assembly for correction. It was understood by one and all that the correction required was the suppression of work on a new boulevard, which is not at all essential, though it would be of value to certain persons in the zone. In fact the Budget was approved to avoid the complications that would, under the Statute, ensue if it were not approved by the 1st of January, on the understanding that the necessary corrections would be made in January.

15. The activities of the new Netherlands *Contrôleur spéciale des dépenses,* which so far have been admirable, have greatly discomforted the French and Spanish *ingénieurs,* who have seen their perquisites diminishing. Relations therefore inside the Administration between this official, supported by the British Assistant Administrator for Finance, and the two "statutory" *ingénieurs,* became somewhat strained. The members of the Committee of Control, the Assembly and the public in general have, however, been quite satisfied with the activities of the two financial officials.

Distinguished Visitors

16. King Idris of Libya spent two days in the Zone on the 9th and 11th of November *en route* from Spain to Fez. He was met at the frontier by the President of the Committee of Control and the Administrator. Nothing of interest is known to have occurred during his visit.

Press

17. Sale and circulation in Tangier of the Arabic dailies, *El Dia* and *El Omma,* and the weekly *Marifa* published in the Spanish Zone were forbidden at the end of the previous Quarter. During the Quarter under review, they continued to come into the Zone by surreptitious means.

18. *The Tangier Gazette,* the only English language newspaper here, the property of the British-owned Rentistica Company, was, at the end of the Quarter, put under an American editor. This caused vociferous protests from local British residents. It is permissible to doubt if anything the owners do will help much towards revivifying this insignificant and feeble paper.

JM 1011/2 No. 18

TANGIER : ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1953

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received January 25*)

(No. 4. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *January 20, 1954.*

In my despatch No. 16 of the 11th of February, 1953, reviewing events in 1952, I remarked that the alliance between the French and Spanish representatives, which had been such a nuisance that year, was showing small signs of distintegration. Looking back on 1953 now, the speed and completeness with which this alliance did disintegrate are quite startling. This transformation was so intimately connected with the other two subjects of major interest to this zone, namely Nationalist problems and the reform of the Administration and Judiciary, that it is impossible to deal with them separately.

2. The first part of the year was comparatively calm and uneventful, the Nationalist leaders, whose passports had been cancelled by the French authorities in Rabat, were unable to return to Tangier, and the parties were clearly feeling a lack of guidance. After the December 1952 riots in Casablanca, there was some nervousness, particularly in French circles and on the part of

the police, that there might be some trouble in Tangier either on the anniversary of the March 1952 riots or on the occasion of the visit of the Indian Ambassador in Paris. There was none. The Committee of Control, though mildly surprised at the complete lack of any sign from Rabat that the Sultan or the French authorities had even seen the reforms on which the committee had agreed in November 1952, was patient, though the Spanish representative was restless.

3. In April and May the committee began to become impatient, though as it was generally known that relations between the French Minister and Consul-General and the authorities at Rabat were very bad, and it was held to be the fault of Rabat, there was a disinclination to press him too hard. In early June, however, the Spanish Consul-General, who had been promoted ambassador, made no secret of his belief that the French authorities in Rabat were guilty of deliberate prevarication and delay in obtaining the Sultan's signature to the Tangier reforms, and from information received privately it seemed very likely that these accusations had some foundation. At about the same time the first moves in the dispute between the Sultan and El-Glaoui and the French authorities, which ultimately resulted in the deposition of the Sultan, began to stir local opinion both European and Moorish.

4. At this point, however, there was still no open breach of the comparative calm which had reigned since the beginning of the year, and the Coronation of Her Majesty became a main centre of interest for the European public, the literate and a large part of the illiterate Moorish public, producing a remarkable demonstration of admiration and respect for the Royal Family. The full and detailed press reports, the two receptions which brought some 1,500 people into this Consulate-General on the day itself, the fireworks display that night, which was seen by many more, a colour film of the Coronation ceremony of which it was luckily possible to arrange a showing, raised our prestige to a noticeable degree. A display by a Canberra aircraft of the Royal Air Force a few days later at a local air rally, just after a Spanish acrobat in a special German machine had carelessly flown into the ground, also impressed the public.

5. The first part of the year, therefore, had brought a deterioration in Franco-Spanish relations but no open breach, and a hardening of the French attitude towards the Nationalists which seemed to be reciprocated. From about the middle of June onwards the affairs of the zone became more lively. The tension in Moorish circles as a result of the differences between the Sultan, El-Glaoui and the French authorities at Rabat persisted. There was no doubt that, although the local Moors were still more or less leaderless, they were almost entirely pro-Sultan, anti-French and anti-El-Glaoui. At the end of June the Spanish Ambassador stated openly that he knew the Sultan had seen and approved the Tangier reforms, demanded to know why the French authorities had not informed the committee, accused them of bad faith, and threatened to publish what he knew. The breach in the Franco-Spanish alliance was very wide.

6. The third quarter of the year opened therefore unhappily. Early in July the situation improved somewhat as news of the signature of the Tangier reforms appeared in the press. It would have been comparatively easy at this point for the French to repair the damage done to Spanish feelings if they had been willing to give gracefully what they must have known they would ultimately be forced to give. Unfortunately, even at this stage when what would inevitably happen in the end, as far as the Tangier reforms were concerned, was already fairly clear, they still managed to find a number of reasons for delay and were unable to resist some local baiting of the United States, which caused confusion and irritation. The two dahirs required to bring the reforms into force were published in Rabat on the 24th of July, when it was seen that they had, in fact, been signed as long before as the 10th of June, that they omitted substantial parts of the agreement which had been signed in Tangier, and that certain unnecessary and annoying but not, luckily, very important changes had been made in the wording. It was necessary in consequence for the Committee of Control to make certain supplementary ordinances. It was, therefore, in an atmosphere of exasperation with the French authorities in Rabat, the Spanish representative in Tangier being more than ever distrustful of French intentions, that the committee were able to agree to bring the reforms into force in practice on the 1st of August, and the new officials, including the two British, arrived and took over their duties.

7. It is pleasant to be able to record at the end of the year that the work of the new

British Assistant Administrator for Finance has, in the five months he has been here, given general satisfaction, and that relations between the four Assistant Administrators are good. The Italian Assistant Administrator for Judicial Affairs is not, perhaps, over-popular, but the new Spanish Assistant Administrator for Health and Labour is a very pleasant surprise—a young, co-operative and, as far as can at present be seen, efficient and honest man. The situation did not develop quite so happily for the French and Spanish engineers in charge of public works, who did not enjoy seeing their perquisites diminish under the influence of the Netherlands *Contrôleur des Dépenses* and British Assistant Administrator.

8. When the protocol specifying the Administrative Reforms was signed in 1952, a promise had been extracted from the French and Spanish representatives that the reforms made in the Judicial Convention signed at the same time should come into force simultaneously. Towards the end of the first half of the year, it was recognised that this might be difficult, and Great Britain, followed by the Netherlands and Italy, released France and Spain, who had never wanted the Judicial Reform, from this promise. This generous gesture embarrassed the French, as it had been intended to do, as they had been glad of any excuse for delay in bringing any of the reforms into force. It had the peculiar result that their representative, who had unwillingly at the start given the promise, maintained that he could not, under the instructions that he had from Paris, be released from it, and could not bring in one set of reforms without the other. He was followed by the Portuguese, who may, perhaps, not have been able to see the real purpose of the manœuvre. The French representative contended that in any case the Judicial Reforms could not come into force until all the Powers on the committee had adhered to the convention, which was an attempt to embarrass the representative of the United States and delay things further. All adherences were, however, finally achieved in July. The Portuguese representative continued to maintain that the Administrative Reforms could not come into force without the Judicial, but when the Administrative Reforms came into force on the 1st of August, there were, as had been foreseen, not enough judges present to bring the Judicial Reforms into force. The operation of the Sultan's Dahir bringing the Judicial Reforms into force was, therefore, suspended by an ordinance of the Committee of Control, which, as an ordinance cannot suspend a dahir, was unconstitutional. Towards the end of August, when the political crisis had completely estranged the French and Spanish, the Mendoub nominated a Moroccan judge in accordance with the convention, and the Spanish refused to approve his appointment, maintaining that the French had agreed to consult them on such appointments and had not done so. The French representative denied this, and refused to ask for the Sultan's dahirs nominating the other judges until the Moroccan judge could be included. This deadlock was finally broken when the committee regretfully decided that they would have to forgo unanimity, and approved the nomination of the Moroccan judge by a 7–1 majority. The dahirs nominating all the judges were then almost immediately forthcoming and a dahir replacing the unconstitutional ordinance of the committee which, when it appeared in October, was seen to have been signed by the Sultan in the middle of September. The fact that the new Spanish judge was nominated by a dahir of the new Sultan whom the Spanish did not recognise, was not lost upon the members of the Committee of Control. After this weary series of Gilbert and Sullivan situations, the new International Jurisdiction to replace the Mixed Tribunal was then inaugurated with pomp and ceremony on the 17th of November.

9. Any relief that may have been felt in August at the apparent solution of the tedious reforms problem was rudely shattered by the crisis in the French Zone, and the deposition of the Sultan. Although the vast majority of Moroccans in Tangier were on the side of the ex-Sultan and there were consequently some tense moments, the change in régimes brought no serious trouble locally. It unhappily coincided with the Feast of the Sheep, normally a time of rejoicing for them. At the last moment, the Mendoub, who is traditionally present at the ceremonial slaughter of a sheep in the Mosque, decided not to appear, and instead of rejoicing, there was general gloom in Moorish circles. Those minor Nationalist leaders who were here seem to have exercised their influence prudently, partly perhaps because with the reformed police in existence there was little doubt that trouble-makers would be severely dealt with. The great majority of Moorish notables climbed rapidly on to the new bandwagon and, some with tears of regret, signed on the dotted

line. During the following weeks the Mendoub suppressed one or two Moorish organisations, and the local Moorish newspaper. He also forbade the reproduction from cafés of broadcasts in Arabic from Egypt and Spanish Morocco, and the circulation in this zone of some Arabic newspapers published in the Spanish Zone. There was again some confusion in the Committee of Control because it was suggested that the members might or might not recognise the new Sultan. Fortunately it was realised before any material damage had been done that the point did not arise for anyone except the Minister for the United States, as no other member of the Committee of Control is accredited to the Sultan.

10. Although locally in Tangier the major hurdles seemed, therefore, to have been taken without disaster, the feelings aroused in the Spanish Zone by the French action at Rabat, which feelings were immediately reflected in the Committee of Control, caused the complete collapse of the informal Franco-Spanish alliance in Tangier, and its replacement by a feeling of open hostility. The Spanish representative remarked that as they had not been consulted on such an important matter, and apparently had been entirely ignored as unimportant, there could be no partnership, that they could have no faith in French co-operation. The Spanish authorities have since allowed a certain number of Moorish Nationalists to go and live in the Spanish Zone or Spain, and have proceeded to vent their indignation by being obstructive in Tangier. Their representative on the Committee of Control frequently, during the last quarter of the year, tried to make use of Tangier questions to raise points of Franco-Spanish disagreement, which were not within the powers of the committee, and the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan showed signs of wishing to interfere in Tangier to an unjustifiable degree. Efforts made by the British and other "neutral" colleagues to restrain these rather puerile displays of temper had not borne much visible fruit by the end of the year, though just before Christmas one minor incident in which both sides consented to refrain from publicising a dispute concerning the functions of a member of the Legislative Assembly allowed a spark of reason to appear on the horizon. In the meantime the enthronement of the new Sultan in the French Zone and the Spanish decision to recognise only the old Sultan has made Article 10 of the Tangier Statute look a little peculiar. This article prohibits any agitation or propaganda or conspiracy in Tangier against the established order in the other zones where there were, at the end of the year, different régimes, each of which could be considered to be a conspiracy against the other.

11. For the last few months of 1953, therefore, the Spanish-Moroccan alliance which had been prominent in 1951, and completely eclipsed in 1952 by the Franco-Spanish honeymoon, was once again in full voice as far as the Spaniards were concerned, and the French representative tended to remember the *Entente Cordiale* much more than he had done in 1952. Seen from Tangier, it is indisputable that French actions and policy in delaying the enforcement of the reforms agreed in 1952 and when the Sultan was deposed were tactless to a degree and open to serious criticism on other grounds. Spanish policy, however, in inciting the Moors to act against the French seems astonishingly shortsighted, as no one believes the Spanish could maintain themselves in Morocco if by any chance the French were forced to leave. The French and Spanish are, in fact, in the same boat and it is difficult to believe that even the most purblind, anti-French young Nationalist can, in view of the volatility of Spanish affections, have much faith in Spanish promises of Utopia in Tetuan. It may be partly for this reason that at the end of the year the Moorish population of Tangier seemed to be lethargic and uninterested in these squabbles.

12. In accordance with the instructions contained in paragraph 4 (ii) of Circular No. 078 of the 9th of September, 1953, I have the honour to enclose a summary of the year's events in chronological order.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

Chronological Summary of Events in Morocco in 1953

January 13, 1953—
Cancellation of Nationalist Leaders' Passports.—Some Nationalist leaders arrived in Gibraltar and were unable to enter Tangier, their passports having been declared invalid by the French authorities. They continued their journey on to Egypt via Genoa. The French press stated that the Committee of Control had prevented the return of these Nationalists, but published a correction of this statement later, following an unofficial approach by the United States, Italian and United Kingdom members of the Committee of Control to the French member.

March 17 to 19—
Visit of Indian Ambassador.—His Excellency Sirdar Malik, Indian Ambassador in Paris, visited Tangier, and during his visit met a small party of Nationalists. The French were anxious lest this be seized as an opportunity to stage demonstrations, but there were none.

March 29—
Telegram from Istiqlal Secretary to Members of the Committee of Control.—Si Ahmed Balafrej, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party, telegraphed from New York to all members of the Committee of Control (except the French member) alleging that the French intended to provoke disorder in Tangier on the 30th of March. The French Consul-General insisted on publishing a communiqué in reply, thus endowing the affair with undue importance.

April 16—
Departure of the Minister for the United States of America.—Mr. John Carter Vincent, American Minister in Tangier, handed over the affairs of the Legation of the United States of America to Mr. William Witman, II (Consul-General), pending the appointment of another Minister. Mr. Vincent was retiring from the Service as a direct result of Senator McCarthy's "witch-hunting."

May 15—
Nationalists obtaining Pakistani Passports.—Her Majesty's Embassy, Washington, reported that the Moroccan Nationalists whose passports had been cancelled had obtained Pakistani passports.

June 3—
Coronation Festivities.

June 11—
Balafrej's Pakistani Passport.—Information was received from the French Consul-General that Si Ahmed Balafrej was *en route* to Tangier with a Pakistani passport. He was to be told that, as a Moroccan subject cannot renounce his nationality without the consent of the Sultan, he would not be able to enter Tangier with such a passport. A similar procedure was adopted for other Nationalists, some of whom acquired Syrian and Egyptian travel documents.

June—
Spanish Accusations against French Authorities.—The Spanish representative accused the French authorities in Rabat of deliberate prevarication and delay in obtaining the Sultan's signature to the Tangier reforms.

July 3—
Tangier Reforms.—The press reported the Sultan's signature on the 10th of June of the Tangier reforms.

July 10—
Death of Colonel W. F. Ellis, C.M.G., O.B.E.—The British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly died on the 10th of July. The Vice-Presidency was accepted by Mr. Aaron Abensur, O.B.E. The new British member was Lord Rhidian Crichton-Stuart.

July 14—
Judicial Convention.—All adherences to the Judicial Convention were received by this date.

July 28—
Tangier Reforms.—The two British Officers due under the reforms arrived.

August 1—
Tangier Reforms.—The Administrative reforms came into force *de facto*.

August 10—
Minister for the United States of America.—Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite arrived.

August 21—
Deposition of the Sultan.—Most Moorish notables regretfully agreed to accept the new Sultan, though there were three refusals in Tangier, one by a British-protected subject. One or two Nationalists fled to the Spanish Zone.

September 9—
Repressive Measures.—The Mendoub suppressed the "Eclaireurs Musulmans."

October—
Terrorist Activities.—The Mendoub received threatening letters, and "Black Hands" (probably spurious) appeared on some walls.

October 14—
Expulsion of Chérif Darkaoui.—This was agreed to by the Committee of Control at the request of the Spanish representative against the opposition of the United Kingdom representative.

November 9 to 11—
King Idriss of Libya spent two days in Tangier *en route* to Fez.

November 17—
Inauguration of "Juridiction Internationale."

November—
Repressive Measures.—The Mendoub suppressed the local Moorish newspaper *Menbar Chaab* and forbade the reproduction in cafés, &c., of broadcasts in Arabic from various other countries.

November—
Spanish Interference in Tangier.—The Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan ordered the local Spanish newspaper to publish a portrait of the ex-Sultan on the anniversary of his enthronement. This obvious propaganda and breach of the Tangier Statute was stopped with the help of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires.

December 10 to 14—
Visit of Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League.—It was feared that when Ahmed Chukri came to Tetuan there might be repercussions in Tangier. There were not.

December 15 to 31—
The Budget was passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Committee of Control.

JM 1013/6

POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1954

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received April 20)

(No. 26. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *April 13, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended the 31st of March, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency, the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure to No. 19

POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER

Quarter ended the 31st of March, 1954

General

Relations between the French and Spanish authorities which, as was previously reported, were bad at the end of 1953, became, if anything, worse during January and February. What became known as the visa war, in which each side refused visas to the other's nationals; the newspaper war, in which each side suspended the other's newspapers, all without any adequate reason, and sundry other minor squabbles were, if ridiculous and comic, also highly inconvenient for Tangier. Although at the end of March the visa and newspaper " wars " came to an end in a mist of little face-saving devices, and at last an improvement in the atmosphere seemed to be in sight, these performances did not enhance the reputation of the French or Spanish authorities for common sense.

2. The Moroccan population remained quiet on the whole, the more intelligent regarding the Franco-Spanish squabbles with interested amusement. There was a mild feeling of excitement following the demonstrations in the Spanish Zone in January, but such local leaders as still remained here succeeded apparently in imposing on their younger followers their wish to maintain this zone in a state of neutral tranquillity.

Moroccan and Nationalist Affairs

3. In the early days of January rumours began to circulate that " something " was being planned in Tetuan. This turned out to be a large assembly of tribesmen who were brought into the town to be present when the Grand Vizier presented to the High Commissioner a petition, bearing 430 signatures, in which French policy was denounced. Spain was praised for refusing to recognise the present Sultan, Moulay Arafa, and a demand was made for provisional separation of the zones until such time as there was a change of conditions in French Morocco.

4. In reply to this petition, the Spanish High Commissioner, General Garcia Valiño, made a violent attack on France and promised to submit the petition to General Franco.

5. News of these events in the neighbouring zone not unnaturally gave rise in Tangier to considerable speculation. It was rumoured that Abdullah Gennoun, who had fled to Tetuan after the dethronement of the ex-Sultan, was to return to Tangier as representative of the Khalifa, a kind of second or rival Mendoub. This caused some anxiety as the effect on local Moorish feelings would have been confusing and exciting. The Spanish Consulate-General denied informally that

their authorities had had any such " ridiculous " intention, and after a few days it became evident that no major changes were likely to take place. When the delegation, which had gone to Madrid to see General Franco, returned to Tetuan it became fairly obvious that the Spaniards had, for the moment at least, shot their bolt.

6. Events in Tetuan have, however, provided the Spaniards with an excuse for spreading propaganda in Tangier intended to convince the inhabitants of the International Zone that they would be infinitely better off if Spain were in control, and Moorish agents from Tetuan have been assiduous in praising Spain and defaming the French. Khaled Raisuli, Pasha of Larache, was particularly vociferous on this subject, and as he is a man of considerable influence and has a residence in Tangier which he visits at least once a week, he is possibly the most dangerous of the propagandists.

7. The Mendoub was, during the quarter, still anxious and timorous. He enquired informally more than once how long it would take a British warship to come from Gibraltar if the authorities in Tetuan were to take any rash action in Tangier. He knows of course that he is far from popular with the Spaniards.

8. During March there was a slight flurry as a Spanish policeman was stabbed by a Moroccan, and it was at first thought that this might herald the extension to Tangier of terrorist activities in the French Zone. As, however, the policeman in question was the Spaniard who originally opened fire on the mob in the riots of 1952, and as the knife used was only a pointed kitchen knife which doubled up and did very little damage, it is likely that the attempt was only an unorganised, ill-thought-out act of private vengeance.

9. News of the quarrel which took place in Cairo between Allal el Fassi, and Hadj Ahmed Belafredj, secretary-general of the Istiqlal, caused a split in the committee of the party in Tangier. In general it may be said that the Fez families followed Fassi while those from Rabat and Casablanca supported Belafredj. As far as is possible, the *élite* of the Istiqlal Party have done their best to keep the news of the split from the rank and file. Apart from this, however, there has been little activity on the part of any of the Nationalist parties who, from messages reaching this Consulate, seem to be genuinely anxious to preserve Tangier as a quiet, neutral ground.

10. The attempt made on the life of the Sultan in Marrakesh early in March and a rumour that he had been killed produced no strong public reaction in Tangier.

Committee of Control

11. The hostility between the Spanish and French authorities in Morocco inevitably affected the atmosphere and deliberations of the Committee of Control. It may well be that the representatives of those two countries were not sorry when, with the end of 1953, the Presidency of the Committee of Control passed to the United Kingdom representative. The other " non-belligerent " members at least seemed to experience feelings of relief. Throughout the quarter there was evidence of a quite astonishing courtship of the United Kingdom, not only by the French and Spanish Consulates and the French Press, but also by the Italians and Portuguese. The Spanish Ambassador, who practically never goes out, took the trouble to attend a cocktail party on board H.M.S. *Superb*, then lying out in the bay. Following a report that there was to be a demonstration of Spanish school children here against the visit of Her Majesty to Gibraltar, and an informal conversation with the Spanish Counsellor here, not only were the Spanish educational authorities here told to stop the demonstration, but also the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan spontaneously sent a message to Her Majesty's Consul-General to say that he would allow no anti-British demonstrations in the Spanish Zone. A Rugby football match between the Combined Services team from Gibraltar and the local French Football Association was another addition to the exhibitions of camaraderie. It is difficult to see any reason for this courtship by the Spanish and French of the British, unless each party feels need of support against the other, or unless they over-estimate the powers of the President of the Committee of Control, which position both have held in the past two years.

12. The Franco-Spanish newspaper war and suspensions in the International Zone of each other's newspapers caused five other members of the Committee of Control to draft an ordinance to limit the restrictions which can be imposed on

the Press. This ordinance was passed by a majority of 7–1 (the Spaniards being against) in the middle of March, but its enforcement was suspended to allow negotiations to proceed between the French and Spanish. It may well be that the fact that this ordinance existed encouraged the Spanish to be a little more reasonable.

13. The proposals for the reform of the staff of the International Jurisdiction, which were rejected with some difficulty in the preceding quarter, were revised by the Portuguese and British Consuls-General, working with the Spanish judge, and passed as ordinances towards the end of March. At the end of the quarter it was too early to say whether what had been done would be effective in preventing the packing of the jurisdiction by the Spaniards.

14. Both French and Spanish Consuls-General expressed dissatisfaction at the end of the quarter with the working of the general police; the former because it was too Spanish, and the latter because there were not enough Spaniards in the higher ranks. At the end of the quarter this problem was still under discussion.

15. On the proposal of the Belgian Minister, the Committee of Control agreed to the replacement of the present Administrator, Dr. J. L. Archer, by H.S.H. Prince Etienne de Cröy-Roeulx. No other candidates were put forward by the Governments entitled to do so. Prince Etienne de Cröy, who in January 1951 was appointed Delegate-General for the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees for Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, is expected to take up his appointment in July this year.

16. The Spanish Ambassador, although, as reported last quarter, suffering from continued ill-health, remains in Tangier. A new Counsellor has arrived who, it is generally supposed, will replace Señor de Lojendio when he eventually succeeds the Spanish Ambassador.

17. There is still nothing but rumour concerning the expected transfer of the French Minister.

18. The Netherlands Minister left Tangier on appointment to Manila. His successor is expected in May.

Administration

19. The activities of the *Contrôleur des Dépenses* continued to cause alarm and anxiety to certain *fonctionnaires* and particularly the French and Spanish *Ingénieurs,* and reached a stage where it will probably be necessary for the Committee of Control to define his functions in more detail. His activities also led to the discussion of various allowances for Administration servants, as a result of which, after great difficulty, the Committee agreed on an ordinance designed to eliminate some existing abuses and restrict some of the more absurd allowances.

20. Investigations which proceeded on the Electric and Water Concession disclosed a lamentable state of affairs. It appears that there have been no proper accounts for some three years, and that the Annual Report required has never been submitted. The French and Spanish representatives seized the opportunity to try and rush the Committee of Control into saying that the Concession should be abolished and the undertaking revert to private hands, by which they meant a Franco-Spanish group. This attempt made at a moment of Franco-Spanish hostility was defeated at the end of March, but it is likely that another similar attempt will be made.

Gold Sovereigns

21. On the 31st of March the Assistant Treasury Solicitor pleaded at the bar of the court on behalf of Her Majesty's Government as *partie civile* in a case in which two Italians were charged with the illicit manufacture of gold sovereigns. The verdict had not been announced at the time of drafting this Report.

Madame Houillon

22. The British Press showed great interest in the case of Madame Houillon, a British subject, held in Malabata jail pending trial as a result of her having had her boat, the *Arran Mail,* sailed across to Gibraltar, though it was under seizure of the International Jurisdiction. She was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 francs.

Naval Visit

23. H.M.S. *Superb* (Captain R. G. Tosswill, O.B.E., R.N.), wearing the flag of Rear-Admiral J. W. Cuthbert, C.B., C.B.E., Flag Officer Flotillas, Home Fleet, and accompanied by H.M.S. *Reward* and H.M. submarines *Artful, Scorcher* and *Tireless,* paid a most successful visit to Tangier from the 26th of February to the 2nd of March.

JM 1013/9 No. 20

POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1954

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received July 12)

(No. 45. Confidential) *Tangier,*
July 7, 1954.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the Quarter ended the 30th June, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER

QUARTER ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1954

General

Though it would be hard to point to any single piece of evidence of improving or deteriorating relations between countries concerned with Tangier the quarter has not been very comfortable. There seemed to be rather less open Franco-Spanish difficulties but there was plenty of bickering. The French representatives also took one or two rather too obviously offered chances to remind the Americans that their position here is ambiguous. Spanish-British relations remained correct and apparently friendly though there were a few tense moments at the time of Her Majesty's visit to Gibraltar and also when the actions of the British Assistant Administrator for Finance tended to reduce the unofficial incomes of certain Spaniards.

2. The appointment of M. Francis Lacoste to be Resident General at Rabat caused speculation on all sides; the French hoping that he would retrieve their zone from disaster; the Spanish wondering what effect any changes there might have in the Spanish Zone, and in particular on the future of General Valino, the Spanish High Commissioner; and the Moors hesitating to take any action lest M. Lacoste should truly intend to satisfy some of their wishes.

3. Relations between the French and the Moors did not improve and it is perhaps significant that even the very timid Mendoub who has usually done exactly as he was told by the French, did during the quarter give some evidence of doubt as to which side will eventually win. Local Moorish opinion is also unimpressed by Spanish blandishments, and one or two Spaniards showed during the quarter that they realised this.

4. The departure of the Portuguese Administrator in May did nothing to reduce the evidence of his poor administration during the past three years.

Nationalism and Public Order

5. In April the Administrator asked the Committee of Control, on the ground that he expected trouble and wished to nip it in the bud, for authority to summon certain Nationalists and inform them that if there were any troubles in the Zone they would be held responsible, and liable to expulsion. The Committee unanimously and flatly refused to give him such a blank cheque (*a*) because they had no confidence in him and (*b*) because the majority would in any case refuse to expel individual Moors, even though they were leaders of parties, for offences committed by other Moors.

6. At the beginning of April the body of a Moor who had been one of the chief Police witnesses in cases of incendiarism last August was found in a well having obviously been murdered. As expected it was impossible to arrest anybody for this crime. During April also, an individual Moor attacked three Europeans without any serious effect. It is alleged that he was inspired by Moorish enemies of the French, but the attempt was so feeble that it is unlikely to have been an act of organised terrorism. In June it was known that various Nationalists had held a meeting with the idea of making a peaceful demonstration on the day of the arrival in the French Zone of the new Resident General. The opinion at the meeting was divided—the majority apparently being in favour of a demonstration, but the minority carried the day and there was no demonstration.

7. The anti-smoking campaign which was started in Casablanca in April met with little response in Tangier where the Istiqlal Party also tried to organise a boycott of French-owned cafés and cinemas, but this too failed to impress the bulk of the Moorish population and by the end of the quarter it was reported to have been abandoned.

8. The arrest in Tetuan about the middle of June of four prominent members of the Shura Party created a bad impression among the Nationalists here, who are in any case fairly cynical about Spanish talk of brotherhood and freedom. Since the troubles started last autumn, political refugees and escaped terrorists from French Morocco have been made welcome in Tetuan. Now that it has become evident that only the Reform Party and its ally the Istiqlal Party will be tolerated in Spanish Morocco, nationalists from other groups will, it seems, have to take refuge elsewhere and it has already been reported that some are in hiding in Tangier.

9. A well-known Tangier resident—a Jew named Elie Cohen who is married to a British subject and who administers properties owned in Tangier by the Khalifa, the Glaoui and the Menebhi family—was arrested by the Spaniards at the end of May while he was travelling by car to Casablanca. No charge was preferred against him but it is understood that he was suspected of acting as a courier between the Khalifa and the Sultan. After being held in prison for over three weeks and interrogated he was released and allowed to return to Tangier during the last week of June.

10. During the quarter the Mendoub, despite the apparent tranquillity of the Zone, became more and more timid. Twice he enquired about the speed with which a British warship could arrive from Gibraltar. He also asked for a letter of introduction to the Governor, although it is now obvious he does not intend to go there soon, and therefore presumably wants the letter only for use in an emergency. On the occasion of the Feast at the end of Ramadan he excused himself from going to the Mosque (there have twice been bomb explosions on ceremonial occasions in Marrakech) as the weather might be bad for his health—although it was fine enough for him to receive official guests in his garden. The French Consul-General was so infuriated by this gesture that he refused to go to the Mendoub's reception that day.

Committee of Control

11. During the quarter there was a series of little troubles in the Committee. There was what has become the usual bickering between the French and Spanish on small points and also an unfortunate tendency on the part of various representatives to make doubtful use of the principle of economic equality, as enshrined in the Statute, in order to further their country's commercial interests.

12. After a prolonged battle on the purchase of a crane for the Port, the decision went eventually in favour of a Belgian/Dutch offer against the positively enraged opposition of the Italian Consul-General. It is possibly because the Italian made use of his position as the Committee's representative on the Port Commission

to try and have the Italian offer accepted, that the Committee accepted an interpretation of the terms of the Belgian/Dutch offer which was at least doubtful.

13. A somewhat similar situation occurred in June during discussion of a competition for architectural plans for a Hospital to be under the control of the anti-tuberculosis league. In this case, the efforts of the French, Spanish and Italian representatives to make the Committee adopt a very distorted version of the Committee's statutory position, were defeated—but only just—by the opposition of the American, Dutch and British representatives.

14. The old question of whether gambling should be permitted in the Zone was raised again by the French in order to annoy the Spanish and as usual was shelved.

15. The transfer of nursery gardens from the Spanish Municipal engineer to the French controlled agricultural promotion department caused a disproportionate amount of trouble and acerbity in the Committee.

16. An ordinance defining the attributions of the Netherlands Contrôleur Spécial des Dépenses was passed in June in the teeth of violent opposition from the Spanish, whose nationals in the Administration will in future not be able to commit the Administration to any expenses without his prior approval.

17. The Spanish, early in the Quarter, objected to the transfer to the French Zone of Moroccans arrested for crimes against Moroccans here. On general principles, the Spanish are probably right; but on the law as it at present stands the French are almost certainly within their rights and the police of the zone have acted correctly. Information on the subject having been obtained from the Police, the Spanish Ambassador asked at the end of the quarter for time to study the matter with a view not to raking up the past, but to preventing a similar occurrence in the future. The French Minister replied that he could say nothing without instructions from Paris as the subject is really beyond the powers of the Committee of Control. It was therefore shelved for the moment to everybody's relief.

18. The archives of the old Conseil Sanitaire, which start from the 1700s, were with the coming into force of the 1923–28 Statute left to the American Legation as the one remaining Power retaining capitulations. In May of this year the United States Minister suggested that they be handed over to the Administration. This idea was rejected by the Committee of Control who decided that they themselves should keep these archives.

Administration

19. Mr. Archer, the out-going Portuguese Administrator, departed in a welter of confusion and hostility at the end of May. The Committee of Control were persuaded to give him a dinner, after more than one of its members had flatly refused to give him a present. Up to the moment of his departure he was quite unable to understand how ridiculous his sentimental and pompous gestures on departure appeared to be, to the great embarrassment of the Portuguese Minister. It was only with the greatest of difficulty that any reasonable decisions were extracted from him in the last two months and the acting Administrator was left with a pile of the papers on which disagreeable action was needed. The acting Administrator (French) made remarkable efforts to restore some degree of order in the administrative house, and to bring under control the various sections of the Administration, which had been acting as independent kingdoms. But the confusion resulting from three years of Mr. Archer's administration will take a great deal of sorting out.

20. The new Administrator, the Prince Etienne de Cröy-Roeulx, paid the Zone an unofficial visit during the quarter and arrangements were made for him to take up his duties on July 1. During June, however, he fell ill in France; at the end of the quarter it looked as if he might arrive by early August.

21. The activities of the Netherlands Contrôleur des Dépenses continued to cause some trouble as foreshadowed in the last report. Although his intentions and work are excellent, he is not over-tactful and even if he were, those suffering from loss of ill-gotten income do not like him.

22. The internal reform of the Administration under which a central buying agency would be created also met with a good deal of opposition both from those whose doubtful but profitable activities would be restrained, as well as from those who feel that a control by the Finance Department over the buying of other

Departments would, in fact, amount to an elevation of the Assistant Administrator for Finance above his brother Assistant Administrators. At the end of the quarter the evidence of economies that had been effected and could be effected by such a central agency was so overwhelming that the idea was generally accepted. The difficulty of deciding who should control it was unsolved, but it looked as though the Administrator himself would have to be at least nominally in charge.

23. The Electricity and Water Concession, which as previously reported has been administered with astonishing inefficiency during the last year or so, brought itself into the news when it was obliged to reduce water consumption. A first attempt to do this by cuts at certain hours of the day proved a failure. The public showed vigorous hostility and the scheme did not work technically. Water rationing by the purse was then instituted, consumers being fined for excessive water consumption.

Assembly

24. The quarter has been unfortunate in that the Administrator, Mr. Archer, having presented the Assembly with a draft law, designed in all probability for the benefit of some of Mr. Archer's friends, and that law having been rejected, the Assembly at Mr. Archer's instigation then took it upon themselves to draft a law. This turned out to be so obviously liable to favour certain members of the Assembly that the Committee of Control had to find a means of rejecting it, and did so on the ground that the Assembly cannot, under the Statute, take the initiative on drafting laws or concessions. This undoubtedly was correct, but Mr. Archer's interpretation of the Committee's decision to the Assembly was such that the members thereof fell into a sulk from which at the end of the quarter they were recovering only slowly.

25. By a mischance the Assembly had at this moment its new draft regulations under the consideration of the Committee of Control. There was an ambitious attempt to give the Assembly powers rather like those of the French Parliament and to encroach on the functions of the Administration. Certain members of the Committee of Control, seizing on this opportunity to call the Assembly to order, proposed drastic changes in the Assembly's draft Regulations, which were not in the least likely to improve the atmosphere, although in fact largely necessary if the Statute is to be respected and the Administrative machine kept intact. In particular, arrangements have been made to remove the power to appoint and promote civil servants of the Zone from the Assembly and give it to a Commission of the Administrator and his four Assistants. This is only logical, and will undoubtedly be an improvement, but is not likely to please an already irritated Assembly.

Press

26. During the quarter the local Spanish Press made no particularly violent attacks on Great Britain despite an earlier campaign about Her Majesty's visit to Gibraltar. At the time of the visit they ignored the subject completely. Their general trend of the reporting of world events has been one of mild pleasure at British reverses and playing down British successes. The line taken by the local French Press has been precisely the opposite.

27. The local British newspaper, such as it is, has, since an American Editor was appointed, been quite objective as far as Great Britain is concerned, but rather more lively in attacking what it considers to be local abuses or infringement of liberty.

JM 10110/7 No. 21

COMMENTS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES IN TANGIER DURING THE MONTH OF AUGUST

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received August 23*)

(No. 60. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *August 17, 1954.*

In recent correspondence finishing with my letter No. 2-1/54 of the 4th of August to Mr. Bromley, I reported that there was a possibility of trouble occurring in Tangier this month, and in particular about the 10th of August.

2. I have the honour to report that in the event the crucial days, the 9th, 10th and 11th of August, passed without any unfortunate incidents. Moorish shops were shut on the 9th and the 11th, but they were largely open on Tuesday the 10th —the day of the feast of Aid-el-Kebir which was not celebrated. The whole can be described as a peaceful demonstration in favour of the ex-Sultan.

3. In view of signs that there might be some trouble, I had consulted with the Acting-Administrator and arranged a meeting of the Committee of Control for the 5th of August, at which the security measures or precautions we proposed were explained to, and accepted by, the Committee. At this meeting the Acting-Administrator, who is French, suggested, very sensibly in my opinion, that an approach should be made to the leaders of the Nationalist parties here to ask them to co-operate in preserving order, and that in view of his nationality this approach should be made by the President of the Committee of Control. As this duty fell to me as President, it is perhaps just possible that you may receive questions as to the actions taken by Her Majesty's Consul-General here. I therefore enclose a copy(1) of the draft minutes of the Committee meeting of the 9th of August. You will see that my remarks to the Moroccans, which were subsequently approved by my seven colleagues, concentrated on asking them to co-operate in avoiding provocation, disturbances and in preserving the liberty of the individual. Such reports as I have received so far are to the effect that the local Moslem population is content with the intentions that I expressed and with the action taken by the various authorities.

4. It is my impression that we have passed the worst point of the month of August, although of course there is no means of knowing that some local incident may not cause excitement and consequently disturbances. The Administrator is, therefore, keeping a careful watch on the situation.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat and Tetuan and to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

(1) Not printed.

JM 10110/8 No. 22

REPORT ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF DISTURBANCES IN TANGIER: PASSING OF AUGUST 20 WITHOUT INCIDENT

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received September 3*)

(No. 67. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *August 30, 1954.*

With reference to my despatch No. 60 of the 17th of August, I have the honour to report that the 20th of August, on which it was thought there might be some trouble in Tangier, passed like the earlier " nervous " days of the 9th, 10th and 11th in complete calm.

2. On the 17th of August I had, at the suggestion of the acting-Administrator, seen some of the local Nationalist leaders again—a smaller and more select party this time. After an exchange of courtesies and thanks on both sides for the co-operation of the previous week, the Moroccans undertook to do as had then been done, *i.e.*, discourage any idea of processions, meetings, portraits of the ex-Sultan, or Moroccan flags in mourning on public ground; that shops could be shut for twenty four hours only and that market stalls would remain open.

3. On the evening of the 19th of August I made a round of the police posts with the acting-Administrator. It seemed to me, though I have no expert knowledge in such matters, that the forces were well placed to cope with any trouble and protect the European quarters of the town. I was particularly pleased to be able to see for myself that the " forces of intervention " were discreetly hidden, where this was possible, so that their presence should not be a provocation and that they were equipped with tear gas, noise-only bombs and batons (though it is true that it would be not only unpleasant but dangerous to meet a mounted Goum wielding a stout ash stake), which were to be used before there was any question of using guns.

4. Reporting on the evening of the 20th, the acting-Administrator told me—

(i) that to the best of his knowledge there had only been one portrait of the ex-Sultan on view, not too publicly, in an unhealthy and very Moorish district. This had been tactfully left undisturbed;

(ii) that only the Moroccan butchers' stalls had been closed in the markets. He intended to reprimand them; and

(iiii) that there had been no other incidents of any kind during the day.

5. Although, therefore, there is nothing to report as far as disturbances of public order are concerned, there have been some results of my activities as President of the Committee of Control which I confess I had not foreseen. It seems, from numerous reports received from civil servants, foreign colleagues, small tradespeople and the servants of British subjects and the like, that the Moorish population in general have attributed the, to them, satisfactory results of the action taken—the attempt to protect individual liberty—to myself as being British and as Her Majesty's Consul-General, rather than to me as the President of the Committee of Control acting at the request of the committee, which had been sensible enough to approve arrangements made by the acting-Administrator, who is French. Even 10 miles or so outside Tangier, two shepherd boys have been overheard to say, " Thanks to the British Minister we are going to have peace in this zone," and my colleague in Tetuan tells me that I am oddly enough credited by the Nationalists there with having stopped the Tangier police from threatening the populace with their guns.

6. A number of factors have contributed to this result. There can be no doubt, Sir, that our reputation for liberal dealing with less advanced peoples has been enhanced locally by the successful conclusion recently of agreements on the Canal Zone, on Iranian oil, and on the Buraimi Oasis, and by your work at the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, which was very well received here and helped to dispose the Moors favourably towards Great Britain. Against this world-wide background, local chance, in the form of an alphabetical order, arranged that the Presidency of the Committee of Control should fall to Great Britain in this year, the first anniversary of the ex-Sultan's

deposition; and that, Tangier being without an Administrator, the French acting-Administrator, who is both efficient and intelligent, should prefer that the President of the Committee of Control should talk to the Moors.

7. As the presidency has been held these past two years by Spain and then France, there was a certain element of relief in the knowledge that, from the point of view of Morocco, a " neutral " held the chair. It is my impression that this feeling of relief is not confined to the Moorish population.

8. I believe that, as a result of these coincidences, our reputation stands well in local Moorish circles at the present time.

9. It may be that this will cause a certain jealousy in the hearts of the Spaniards, who pose to-day as the champions of Moslem ideas, and even perhaps in certain French circles, though I have acted in the closest co-operation with my French colleagues. Despite this I am encouraged to believe that the events of the past month have impressed on those most particularly concerned with the future development of Morocco, namely, the French, the Spanish and the Moroccans themselves whether for or against the present Sultan, the advantages of there existing an international zone in Morocco, which allows the peaceful co-existence of rivalries. This belief leads me to hope that, whatever strains the years immediately ahead may bring, we shall ourselves be able to maintain the more easily the international status of Tangier.

10. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat and Tetuan.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

JM 1013/13 No. 23

POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1954

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received October 15*)

(No. 74. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *October 1, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended the 30th of September, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure to No. 23

General

The anniversaries of the ex-Sultan's deposition and of the Aid-el-Kebir, which might have caused disturbances of public order or an abnormal excitement of nationalist partisans in the month of August, were the main subjects of interest during the quarter. Various precautions were taken, and, in the event, there was no trouble.

2. One unexpected result was an increase in British prestige amongst the Moors, as, by pure accident, the President of the Committee of Control this year is Her Majesty's Consul-General. This was to the evident discomfort of the

Spaniards, who do not like to think that anybody else might be regarded as a champion of Islam. Various rumours started probably with the connivance of the Spanish authorities to the effect that Great Britain had decided to back the Moors against the French, have not had the result of setting the French against the British as may have been hoped.

3. The Moorish population is still suspicious of French intentions. As far as Tangier is concerned, the Moors are undoubtedly loyal to the ex-Sultan rather than the present Sultan; but despite growing impatience, they still had some hope, until about the middle of September, that M. Lacoste would be able to do something to meet their wishes. They were disappointed in mid-September with the announcement of a programme of reforms.

Nationalism and Public Order

4. Early in the month of August, the Committee of Control decided that for that month there could be no public processions, demonstrations of any sort or kind, and that even the traditional Friday prayer procession of the Mendoub should be suspended. It would at least have been possible for demonstrations leading to spontaneous disturbances to have taken place if the Mendoub had carried out the usual sacrifice of the sheep and Friday prayers for the present Sultan on the day of Aid-el-Kebir. The Mendoub, in fact, distinguished himself by leaving very quietly on holiday on August 1 and returning with a request for military honours after the crucial dates had passed. Though this eased the task of the European authorities it reduced his already low reputation for courage and decision to vanishing point. It would also have been possible for troubles to have arisen as the result of Roman Catholic processions. To forbid Roman Catholic processions was difficult for the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and, to a smaller degree, the Belgian and French Ministers; but by abstaining from mention of any religion, it proved possible to have all processions forbidden. Measures were also taken to forbid the exhibition in public of portraits of the ex-Sultan, the flying of flags at half-mast, the closing of shops for more than a short time, &c., although great care was taken to emphasise that the liberty of the subject, as far as concerned what he did inside his house, should be respected.

5. The Spanish Ambassador, following these events in August, tried to let it be known that nothing could have been done without his help. The Spanish Press also issued three reports to this effect that the Mendoubia had been closed, the Mendoub recalled to Rabat, as the British wished him to be replaced and French influence reduced, and that the British had sent a town crier round to state that the Moors no longer owed allegiance to the present Sultan, but only in Tangier to the International authorities.

6. An informal protest to the Spanish Ambassador that such reports in the controlled Spanish Press were objectionable and harmful, seemed, at the end of the quarter, to have had some effect.

7. The Spanish Ambassador, following the objections he raised during the preceding quarter (paragraph 17 of my report for the June quarter), also made a proposition to the Committee of Control to the effect that Moroccans arrested here should never be transferred for trial to the French Zone. Although this may be reasonable in principle, it seems clear that under the Statute the Mendoub has the right to effect such transfers. In fact, during September, a certain number of Moroccans who had been transferred to the French Zone last March, were brought to trial in Rabat and released on the ground that there was no case against them. In the meantime, informal arrangements had been made with the local French authorities to avoid, if it was humanly possible, any further such transfers for the moment. Although the Spanish Ambassador tried, during the quarter, to cause trouble on this question, and will undoubtedly try again, he did not, therefore, succeed, though the questions remains on the Agenda.

8. The failure of the Spanish High Commissioner to fulfil the hopes raised by his bombastic references to liberty and independence led, in the early part of the summer, to a general feeling of discontent and disillusionment in Spanish Morocco. It was probably in order to prove that this state of affairs was not due to natural causes that the Spanish authorities inferred that trouble was being fomented by agitation in the International Zone. The Spanish Head of the Mixed Information Bureau here alleged that arms were being smuggled into the Spanish Zone from Tangier by Moorish agents who were in the pay of the French.

Committee of Control

9. Although the summer months are normally fairly quiet, as members of the Committee of Control tend to take their holidays, there was a small number of questions of some interest.

Extradition.—The demand of the Swiss authorities for the extradition of a Swiss subject raised again the question of what right the Judges have to extradite. The result in the Committee of Control was a furious discussion in which the Italian representative defended the actions of the Judges in the past on the ground that although there is no legal provision for extradition, they must see that justice is carried out. Apart from this peculiar theory that if there is not a law the Judges may invent it, he also produced some very strange interpretations of the existing legal provisions for expulsion from the Zone. The majority of the Committee were evidently of the opinion that extradition by the Judges is not legally correct at present, although some measure should be taken to provide for extradition. They were, however, too timid to have an open conflict with the Courts. A provisional compromise was, therefore, arranged on the suggestion of the French representative under which the Magistrates were informed that no demand for extradition could be considered unless it came by the normal diplomatic channels, which means by Paris, Rabat and their Consulate-General here. In the case of citizens of the Powers represented here, such demands for extradition would be referred to the representative concerned. At the same time, it was decided that all members of the Committee should study a draft Dahir providing for extradition.

Gambling and Casinos.—The old question of games of chance was raised again. The proposal that they should be allowed was defeated by the Spanish and Portuguese. The Portuguese Judge, when trying an Italian subject shortly afterwards, made remarks reflecting upon the Administration's improper toleration of infringements of the law. As a result, the French acting-Administrator informed the Committee of Control that such toleration would have to cease—a change which will be damaging to surreptitious Spanish and other local gambling. At the end of the quarter, the argument and also the argument as to whether *parimutuel* is a game of chance or not, was still very much alive.

Oeuvre Antituberculeuse.—The storm raised by the *Oeuvre's* proposal to build a hospital, continued to rage. It is probable that almost everybody concerned is at fault, but it is disastrously clear that whoever is most at fault, the Spanish authorities are out to get control of the Antituberculosis Organisation and Campaign regardless of the interests of the patients, as they wish to secure the construction of the hospital for their architect and as many jobs as possible for their nationals.

Régie de l'Eau et de l'Electricité.—The discussion of the future of the water and electricity concession was quiescent, but nobody was under any illusion that the battle between the Spanish, who want it, and the Italians, who have it, might break forth at any moment.

Protocol for Promoting and Recruiting Administration Personnel. The Dahir bringing into force the Protocol signed by the members of the Committee of Control on April 29, 1954, was published during the Quarter, and the necessary Ordinance passed by the Committee. The opportunity was taken to persuade the Committee of Control to publish as an annex to the Official Bulletin, not only this Protocol, but also the Protocol signed in November 1952 and the Judicial Convention.

Administration

10. The new Administrator, the Prince de Cröy, was ill in France until the middle of September, when he went to the south of France for convalescence having informed the Committee that he intended to arrive in Tangier towards the end of October. This, for the moment, disposed of the numerous rumours that he did not want to come, that he could not come, and even that he was dying. The acting-Administrator (French) continued to do very well and greatly enhanced his reputation.

Legislative Assembly

11. Relations between the Assembly on the one side and the Committee of Control and the Administration on the other were very indifferent at the end of June and became openly bad in July. As a result of various informal conversations

and letters which passed between the President of the Committee of Control (British) and the Chairman of the Finance Commission of the Legislative Assembly (who happens also to be British), this storm died away in an exchange of amiabilities leaving, for practical purposes, the two American representatives, who are chronic and not very intelligent grumblers, as the sole surviving members openly disgruntled. The Assembly went into recess at the end of July.

Press

12. The most noticeable single thing about the Spanish Press was the peculiarly distorted reports mentioned in part one of this report. There was, however, a very marked contrast between the Spanish Press, who paid little attention to news from Britain or to British successes, and the French Press, who reported British news prominently and enthusiastically, and particularly the actions taken by Her Majesty's Government after the rejection of the E.D.C. Treaty by the French Parliament. It can safely be said that during the quarter the local French Press was enthusiastically pro-British.

13. Three newspapers are still prohibited in the Tangier Zone as a result of the Franco-Spanish newspaper war which started at the beginning of the year, *i.e.*, *Maroc Demain* and *Liberté*, prohibited by the Spanish, and *El Dia* or *Nar*, prohibited by the French. There is no real reason to-day for the prohibition of the first two by the Spanish except as a reply to the prohibition of *El Dia* which is published partly in Spanish and partly in Moroccan, and has, unfortunately, continued a virulent anti-French campaign which the French describe as practically an incitement to murder.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/3

No. 24

REPORT ON LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TANGIER IN 1954

Mr. Muntz to Sir Anthony Eden. (*Received December 29*)

(No. 97. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *December 18, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1954.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco
Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Andreu, José Abelló
Managing director of the Banco Inmobiliario. Was a Republican, but is quite well thought of at Spanish Consulate-General, where he uses every possible means to secure his rehabilitation and permission to return to Spain.

3. Apostoli, Giovanni
Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was recalled on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoy a fair reputation for honesty if not for morals. He is a bachelor.

4. Arcos y Elio, José Luis los
Appointed Assistant Administrator for Health and Labour August 1953. Born 1913. Served in Spanish diplomatic service at Casablanca, Tetuan, Fez, Damascus. Married. Speaks English, French, Arabic. He is regarded by the Spaniards as something of an expert on Arab affairs. His wife is considerably more intelligent than the usual Spanish woman.

5. Armand, Marcel Philippe
Born 1902. Inspector of Primary Education in Sherifian Schools, Tangier. French member of Legislative Assembly. Married. Three children.

6. Bird, William
American Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Journalist. Runs a small printing press. A chronic grumbler with democracy on the brain. Married.

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7. Buiskool, J. A. E.
Appointed Netherlands judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Member of the Magistrature of the Netherlands Union. 1947 President of the Court in Surinam. Speaks good English and is scrupulously correct in legal affairs.

8. Caillat
Appointed Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier in 1953 in succession to M. Bastianelli. Previously in charge of the Lycée at Fez. Speaks excellent English.

9. Crambes, Dr.
President of the Anciens Combattants. He was French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, but following serious disagreements with the French Consul-General was not renominated in 1953.

10. Crawshaw, Harold Godfrey
Aged 52. Appointed Assistant Administrator for Finance August 1953. Member of the Scottish Institute of Chartered Accountants. 1928–39 worked as a chartered accountant. Chief Accountant, Allied Commission, Italy, with the rank of colonel. 1945–53 Director of Finance and then Secretary-General, Inter-Allied Reparation Agency, Brussels. Married. No children.

11. Crichton-Stuart, Lord Rhidian
Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in 1953. Born 1917, fifth son of the fourth Marquis of Bute. Educated Ampleforth and Magdalen, Cambridge. Black Watch 1938, transferred Royal Artillery 1939 and to Reserve as captain 1948. Married 1939 daughter of Netherlands Minister, Tangier. Two sons, one daughter. Has property and business in Tangier.

12. De los Campos, Villarejo
Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court, a post which he combines with similar functions in Tetuan. Rarely visits Tangier. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

13. Doolittle, Hooker Austin
United States Consul in Tangier for several years before the war. Was appointed consul-general, Tunis, in 1940 and subsequently served in Egypt and Pakistan and on a mission for the United Nations in Indonesia. Retired from the Foreign Service in 1951 and returned to Tangier where he has settled down. Is one of the American members of the Legislative Assembly. Doolittle has a good knowledge of Morocco and a forceful personality which sometimes brings him into conflict with the United States Legation. He is pro-Nationalist, and inclined to be indiscreet in his friendships, but this is largely due to his avowed dislike of convention and protocol. Married to a White Russian.

14. Elias, Wilhelmus Hermanus Julius
Appointed Contrôleur Spécial de Dépenses, Tangier, 1953. Born 1901. Educated Amsterdam. 1927–42 held number of posts in financial administration of N.E.I. 1942–45 Japanese concentration camp. 1946–51 resumed activities in N.E.I. Retired 1952. Married. One child.

15. Girault, Cmt.
Appointed second-in-command of General Police in 1953. Born 1912; holds a diploma in law. Entered the gendarmerie in 1937. Served in the Garde Républicaine in Paris and took part in the liberation of Paris. After having assisted in the reorganisation of the Paris police he was posted to Algiers in 1951, as head of the Military Cabinet of the Governor-General of Algiers.

16. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)
Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Very pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange. Has a large family.

17. Hubert, Paul
Appointed *Contrôleur* of the Mendoubia in 1950. Is also *Commissaire du Gouvernement* at the Mendoub's Tribunal. Is rarely met outside French circles, but is believed to co-operate closely with the local French in suppressing Nationalist activities.

18. Jardim, Achiano Vera
Appointed Portuguese judge on International Court, Tangier 1953. Born 1911. Educated at Coimbra University. Joined Portuguese magistrature 1937. Became a judge 1946. Since 1949 has been assistant to the Attorney-General at Lisbon. Is scrupulously correct in legal affairs.

19. Jorro y Andreu, José
Spanish vice-president of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Representative in Morocco of Juan March. Has large business interests in Tangier and owns a considerable amount of property.

20. Katzaros, John
Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Katzaros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently with the consulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Katzaros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

21. Lagergren, Gunnar
Appointed Swedish judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Born 1912. Bachelor of Arts 1934 and of Law 1937, University of Stockholm. 1937–43 served on various courts and Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1944 Swedish Legation, Berlin. 1948 associate judge, Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1947, 49 and 50 studies of international law London, Rome, Paris. Is completely independent and scrupulously correct in legal affairs. Married 1943. Both he and his wife, who was partly educated in England, speak English.

22. Legrand, General V. J.
As colonel was Chief of Police. Promoted general on the retired list. Retired as a result of the reforms which came into force in 1953, and has remained in Tangier.

23. Lemass, Edwin
British judge in the Mixed Tribunal. Appointed 1st November, 1949.
Born 1890. Called to the Bar in Dublin 1912. Served in the army from 1914–18. From 1920–49 was employed in the Egyptian judicial service where he became a judge of the Mixed Court in 1932. He is good-natured and easy going, but his lapses from tact in handling his fellow judges and the lawyers have caused embarrassment on several occasions. Married.

24. Marchegiano, Giuseppe
Appointed Assistant Administrator for Judicial Affairs following the reforms of 1953. Was judicial adviser to the Italian Consulate-General. Is not a man of strong character and is entirely dominated by an energetic, ambitious wife whose political loyalties are of the most ephemeral nature but are none the less vehement whilst they last. Has two unmarried daughters with social ambitions.

25. Mèlenotte, Raoul
Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. Pleasant to talk to, hard working but is said to take bribes.

26. Menegaux, Pierre
Appointed French judge on International Court. Born 1904. Fought for the Free French. 1945, Director of Personnel at Ministry of Justice. 1951, served on Court of Appeal and later as counsellor in the Court of Cassation, Paris. Intelligent and reliable judge. Speaks English.

27. Merry, Diaz Manuel
Spanish judge of the Mixed Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases on grounds other than the rule of law. Acts as President of Appeal Court.

28. Mesa y de Llano, Colonel Ramón de
Appointed head of the Mixed Information Bureau to be set up under the reforms of August 1953. He was military attaché at the Spanish Consulate-General. Speaks French. Married. A number of children. His wife speaks only Spanish.

29. Regil, Eugenio Mora
Appointed Spanish judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born 1901. Has held appointments as judge at Larache and Tetuan.

30. Rodière, Yves
French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

31. Sagardoy Allo, Matias, Lieutenant-Colonel
Appointed Commander of the Special Police created in 1953. Speaks no English and practically no French. Married.

32. Sedillo, Juan A. A.
Appointed American judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born in New Mexico 1902. Member of Bars of New Mexico and Supreme Court United States. Practised in United States and Denmark. Served with the United States forces in Europe in Judge Advocate-General Corps. Served as Associate Justice of Court of Appeals in Germany 1948–51 and as Legal Adviser to State Department 1951–53. Married. One child.

33. Selley, Alan
Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in October 1949. Manager of the Bank of British West Africa. Intends to retire here.

34. Vallet, Jean
Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist. Is nevertheless reported to be a reasonably good judge.

35. Vermeil, Edmond
Born Peone 5th October, 1900. Entered the "controlleur civil" services and was posted to Rabat from 1939–43. After two years in the army he returned to Rabat in 1945 as Director of Information at the Residency General. Was at one time pro-Vichy, but subsequently took part in the Italian campaign against the Germans. Is efficient and agreeable. Was Acting Administrator for last seven months of 1954 and did very well.

36. Wauters, Alfred
Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Premier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Married an English wife. Is pleasant and useful, but not a forceful character.

37. Wilbers, François
Appointed Director of General Police in 1953. Was one of the Belgians appointed to the International Police in 1945 with the rank of commissaire. He was in charge of the Sûreté from 1945–53 and enjoyed the reputation of being a conscientious and honest officer. He is pro-British but does not get on too well with his Spanish colleagues.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron, O.B.E.
British subject, born about 1895. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help Her Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker. British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Awarded the O.B.E. in 1953.

2. Abensur, Maurice Moses
Younger brother of No. 1 and partner in the firm of Moses Pariente. Spent the war years with his family in the United States and as a result his wife and sons at any rate have become somewhat Americanised.

3. Abensur, Joe
Son of No. 2. Is a most efficient and likeable young man who has recently done much good work for the British charities funds. Bids fair to become a valuable member of the British community.

4. Alster, Jacob
Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has a very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier. Has now become a considerable property owner. Does not entertain and appears to have no social life outside banking circles.

5. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac
Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony.

6. Hassan, Joseph
Portuguese subject, born about 1880. Very rich. Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid. Portuguese representative on the Legislative Assembly. His nephew, Salvador, was educated at Cambridge and acts as his uncle's substitute in the Legislative Assembly.

7. Pinto, Jack
Partner in the firm of Toledano Pinto. Wife is an American. His daughter is married to Maurice Abensur's son. Shrewd business man; is particularly popular with the Americans.

MOSLEMS

1. Abderrahman Anegay
Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier and takes charge of the party's activities during Allal el Fassi's absence. Intelligent, with an excellent command of French. One of the more reasonable of the Moroccan Nationalists. Has been in the United States for over a year.

2. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi
The Sultan's representative or Mendoub. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father the late Mendoub until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. For two years after his

father's death the Sultan refused to appoint him Mendoub in spite of pressure from the French and he continued to do the work of the post as First Khalifa. His appointment in February 1950 caused him great pleasure. His outlook is very conservative like that of most rich Moors, but he is shrewd and hard-working and probably as good a man as could be found for the post.

3. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi
The Mendoub's Acting First Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknès and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

4. Si Mohammed Guennoun
Mendoub's Third Khalifa, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Has better reputation than Nos. 1 and 2. Is brother of No. 12, but does not share his political opinions.

5. Si Mohammed ben Driss ben Rahmoun
Kadi of Tangier. Born 1876 but does not look his age. Native of Fez. Formerly scribe at court of the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz. Present at Paris and Madrid conferences on Tangier. Held post of Kadi at Mogador. Appointed to Tangier on re-establishment of International régime. Has had bad reputation, reported to insist on bribes before signing documents or giving judgment and was suspended from his functions in the summer of 1953. Professes to be a friend of England.

6. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani
Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib (head of the trade guilds).

7. Si Abdessalam Shebaa
Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

8. Moulay Ahmed ben Haij Abdessalem el-Wazzani
Is present Cherif of Wazzan. He succeeded his elder brother Moulay Ali who died a year or two ago. He was born on the 6th September, 1876, of a British mother. He resides in Tangier. Is pro-French.

9. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari
Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternity. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947. In February 1950 he was accused by the Spaniards of organising armed incursions into the Spanish Zone. Rather than hand him over to the Spanish authorities the International Administration instituted an enquiry as a result of which he was arrested and confessed to having arranged the smuggling of arms across the frontier, but claimed that he had acted at the request of the Spanish authorities. It seems likely that in fact he was the victim of *agents provocateurs*. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone, where his sentence was served in agreeable fashion. Returned to Tangier in 1953. Expelled in October 1953. Tried to return in May 1954 but was not allowed in. Has been in French Zone ever since. Both Spanish and French are frightened of him with good reason, as he will work for or against either or both according to the price offered.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi
Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Though not an active Nationalist, he has allowed them the use of his house as a meeting place. As a result he was summoned before the Mixed Court in June 1951, with other Nationalists, and questioned on the score of alleged illegal political activities. He was one of the very few Tangier Moroccan notables who refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

11. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri
Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927–31 and revisited Egypt 1937–38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Has the reputation of being more venal than the other Nationalist leaders. In 1950 he started a new paper, *Minbar al Sha'ab*, which was subsidised by the French authorities, and tried to start a new political party in the French Zone to work for Franco-Moroccan co-operation. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the time of the dispute between the Sultan and the Resident General, he burned his boats with the French and returned to Tangier, where he joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front. (See under No. 15.) He went to the United States in 1952 and his passport having been cancelled has been unable to return to Morocco. Is at present in Egypt.

12. Si Abdullah Guennoun
Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (*i.e.*, not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's. He refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953 and went to live at Tetuan.

13. Si Ahmed Erkaina
Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly. Appointed Nadir del Habus on the death of his brother Mohamed.

14. Abd-el-Kebir Fasi
Cousin of Allal Fasi and brother-in-law of Abderrahman Menebhi. Came to Tangier from French Zone in 1951, as correspondent of *El Alam*, Istiklal newspaper in Rabat, now banned. Has lived here ever since, being afraid to return to French Zone. Is a member of Istiklal, but moderate in his attitude.

15. Abd-el-Khalek Torres
Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist Reform Party. Joined other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front in April 1951. He has been in and out of favour with the Spanish and French and according to the state of affairs, has been exiled in Tangier and found it inadvisable to remain in Tangier, Tetuan being safer. Following the change of Sultans in August 1953 he has been making rude remarks from Tetuan about the French and the new Sultan. It is said that he is not a good Moslem and this does him harm with his stricter co-religionists. Has lost a lot of face lately with the Nationalists by co-operating too closely with the Spanish and by saying that the Moors are not yet fit for self-government.

16. Si Allal el-Fassi
Leader of the (French Zone) Independence Party (*Hizb el Istiqlal*). An educated man who, like most of his fellow Nationalists, has so far shown more gift for speaking and writing than for political organisation, el Fassi, who had been living quietly in Tangier directing his paper, *Al Ala'am*, came into prominence with his party in 1951 in connexion with the crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the authorities of the French Protectorate, when, Nationalist reactions in the French Zone having been repressed, the initiative passed to the leaders in Tangier. Joined with the leaders of the Reform, Democratic Independence and Moroccan Unity parties to form a National Front in April 1951. He is now in Egypt and unable to return to Morocco.

17. Allal ben Abou
Spanish subject and at one time proposed for the post of Grand Vizier in Spanish Morocco. Is a very rich proprietor and is regarded as the chief of the pro-Spanish moors. Refused to give his allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

18. Ahmed ben Suda
Representative in Tangier of the Democratic Independence Party, and signed the National Front pact in April 1951 on behalf of his leader, Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani. Went to Egypt with the latter in August 1951. Is a Nationalist of many years' standing.

19. Abdelkader ben Omar Barrada
One of the richest merchants in Tangier. Native of Fez. Was blacklisted during the war, but always kept up friendly relations with the French Consulate by whom he appeared to be treated with considerable respect, in spite of the fact that he had acquired Spanish nationality. He has now fallen into disfavour with the French having become a Nationalist and the representative in Tangier of the Shara party.

JM 1902/1

No. 25

TANGIER : HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Muntz to Sir Anthony Eden. (*Received December 29*)

(No. 98. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *December 20, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the Heads of Missions at Tangier for the year 1954.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

Tangier : Heads of Foreign Missions

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports.)

Belgium

M. Carlos de Radiguès de Chennevière (arrived February 1945), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister, is retiring this month and leaving Tangier.

His successor is M. Stéphane Halot, who is expected in Tangier early in 1955. He was born in 1897, and served in the First World War. Between the wars he held appointments in Berlin, Paris and Prague. In 1945 he was appointed Minister in Ankara, and in 1951 as Ambassador in New Delhi. Earlier this year he was appointed "Chef du Protocole" at the Belgian Foreign Ministry.

France

M. François de Panafieu (arrived March 1950), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister, was appointed to the Quai d'Orsay and left Tangier in November.

His successor is M. Robert Barbara de la Belloterie de Boisesson. M. de Boisesson, who was born in 1905, after appointments in Warsaw, Paris and the Far East, was appointed Délégué in Tunis in 1951, where he was promoted in 1953 to the rank of Minister. He arrived here in December 1954.

Italy

M. le Comte Francesco Macchi di Cellere (arrived February 1952), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

*M. Macchi di Cellere, aged about 50, graduated in law in 1926 and joined the Italian Diplomatic Service in 1928. He served at The Hague on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva as Secretary at Addis Ababa, and in the Consulates at Menton and Colombo. During the war he was in Rome, where, according to his own statements, he was not very prominent as he was never an enthusiastic Fascist. In 1946 he went as Counsellor to Athens and after a short time in Belgrade returned to Rome in 1949, where he was in the "Bureau de Co-ordination" of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*He is energetic, quick in the uptake, and appears very anxious to co-operate with the United Kingdom, which is useful as he seems to have a flair for seeing the real motives behind apparently innocent manœuvres. His somewhat Neapolitan negotiating qualities have made him rather unpopular with his French, Spanish and Belgian colleagues. Despite the rather mincing manner of a confirmed bachelor, he has a real sense of humour. He can speak English, but not fluently so, and prefers not to do so. (Written in 1952.)

He looks forward with some lack of confidence in his ability to deal with details (which his colleagues are inclined to share) to his Presidency of the Committee of Control in 1955.

Netherlands

M. Allard Merens (arrived February 1950), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister, left Tangier at the beginning of the year on being appointed to Manila.

His successor is Dr. H. H. Dingemans, who arrived here in April. Dr. Dingemans, who was born in 1907, is a Middle Eastern expert and an Arabic scholar. After holding appointments in Jedda and Djakarta, he was, in 1950, appointed Head of the African and Middle Eastern Section of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1953 he went as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Coronation of King Feisal II.

Dr. Dingemans, who will be President of the Committee of Control in 1956, has not been quick to understand the spirit of the Committee. His occasional lapses in tact have not endeared him to his colleagues and there is some disposition to doubt whether he really understands French adequately. He is nevertheless reasonably co-operative in his dealings with the British.

Like his wife, he is of a retiring disposition, but this may change as he and she come to know and to be known in Tangier better.

Portugal

M. Manuel de Cunha Pimentel Homem de Mello (arrived August 1952), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

*A man of about 51, M. Hemem de Mello was last employed in the economic side of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. He has served in Hamburg and Berlin. Sent down partly to support the Portuguese Administrator, M. Archer, of whom he is a distant relative, he was at first rather noisy and bellicose. He is still noisy, but found it difficult to support all the Administrator's actions. Though not brilliant, he has proved himself reasonably impartial and courageous enough to stand up for his principles from time to time. (Written in 1953.) During 1954 he has been very friendly and helpful to us.

He is married and has children. He speaks no English.

Spain

Señor Don Cristóbal del Castillo (arrived September 1945), Consul-General promoted to personal rank of Ambassador in 1953.

*Señor del Castillo joined the Spanish Diplomatic Service in 1917. He was Minister-Counsellor in Paris before the war and Minister in Athens before serving here as Consul-General from 1942–44, when

he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was reappointed Consul-General in Tangier. During the war he is said to have given the impression of being anti-British, but on his return to Tangier in 1945 he frequently spoke of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. Recently, though aggressive for Spanish claims, he has been very friendly. There is no doubt that he feels Spain has a right to a predominant voice in the affairs of the International Zone, and that, put in its worst light, she has expiated her sins of illegal occupation by an overlong sentence. His ambition is to see Spain restored as nearly as possible to her pre-war position in this Zone before he retires. He has, I believe, great influence in Madrid as far as Morocco is concerned. He is said to have been offered the Spanish Embassy in Paris and even possibly the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Madrid. He would be unlikely to accept either as he detests social affairs and never goes out at all. He has suffered from bad health for several years and in 1952 was obliged to attend to business in his home and sometimes in bed. He was absent for medical treatment for four months in the winter of 1952–53. His long experience of Morocco (thirty years on and off), his rather Jesuitical interpretation of a country gentleman's codes, and his undoubtedly very acute intelligence, make him a colleague to be treated with care, however pleasant and friendly he may be.

*His wife, who is a delightful little party from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son who has recently been studying for a year or more in England. (Written in 1952.)

United States

Mr. Joseph Charles Satterthwaite (arrived August 1953), American Diplomatic Agent with the rank of Minister and Consul-General.

*Born in 1900, served with the United States Army in the First World War. M.A. University of Michigan 1924; entered United States Foreign Service and served at Stuttgart, Washington, Guadalajara, Mexico, Buenos Aires, Bagdad, Ankara, Damascus. From 1945–49 was in Washington, where he became Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs. In 1949 he was appointed Ambassador to Ceylon.

*He is married and has one daughter aged 6. (Written in 1953.)

CHAPTER IV.—ALGERIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/5 No. 26

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN ALGERIA FOR THE QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1954

(Received April 13)

(Restricted) *Algiers, April 9, 1954.*

1. Communism

The major activity during the first weeks of the year appears to have been devoted by the Party to a campaign to increase membership. Some interesting figures were published in this connection in the Party's weekly paper which confirm the general opinion that the hard-core of paying members is a small one. Considerable time has been given, as was to be expected, to propaganda against C.E.D., Admiral Fechteler's visit in March to Algeria providing useful material.

2. Nationalists

The M.T.L.D. continued locally to devote its energies to the furtherance of the proposed *Congrès Nord Africain*. The Party's boycott of the elections to the Algerian Assembly was effective (see Algiers despatch No. 12 of the 2nd of February), and no candidates were presented. Maître A. Kiouane, one of the leading Party members, attended the International Conference of Jurists for the Defence of Democracy which was held in Vienna from the 4th to the 7th of January.

An outstanding development affecting the M.T.L.D. has been the breach between the titular head, Messali Hadj, and the local party organisation. The matter has as yet received no publicity, but Messali Hadj has issued a manifesto to his " militants," from Niort, where he is in enforced residence, in which he protests strongly against backsliding amongst the Party's leaders at Algiers and elsewhere, and announces the creation of a *Comité de Salut Public*. His complaints include a reference to the attitude of the M.T.L.D. municipal councillors at Algiers who voted with their European colleagues for the city budget and for the reforms proposed by the Mayor. Messali Hadj, by his action, has now cut himself off effectively from the Party whose development, he suggests, has latterly been towards more constitutional methods. A copy(1) of Messali Hadj's message, of the genuineness of which I have no doubt, is transmitted as an appendix to this report.

3. Algerian Assembly

The session at the Assembly has been dominated by discussions on the Budget and agreement between the Administration and the Assembly on the necessity of increased taxation was only reached after some weeks of debates that were at times acrimonious and often of small constructive value. The Administration has pointed out plainly that if Algeria demands every year " une subvention d'équilibre," which is in effect what it is demanding this year from the Metropole, this must eventually put an end to all financial autonomy and almost to the " raison d'être " of the Assembly. Under such a system, the Metropole would be entitled to a complete control of all expenditure and taxation. The debates have brought out the unwillingness of the Assembly to recognise the limited scope of its powers and the tendency of members to use it as a sounding board for self-advertisement and little else. In these circumstances, friction with the Administration is not infrequent. Recently, the Assembly, while debating on the reform of Chambers of Commerce and commercial tribunals, was informed by the Administration that this question was beyond its competence and that the representatives of the Administration would leave the Chamber if the discussion continued. The motion was withdrawn and referred to Committee. Another difference beween the Assembly and the Administration was, however, settled in favour of the former. The Assembly had refused to accept the Government's refusal to homologate its resolution that the Law of July 1952 (bonuses of officials who are ex-servicemen) which the French Government had extended only to officials in Algeria who are on the French cadre,

(1) Not printed.

should be extended to all such officials in Algeria. The Assembly passed a resolution demanding reconsideration of this decision, and the *Commission de l'Interieur* of the National Assembly gave its unanimous support to this. It is now announced that the Government has given way on this matter.

Lack of buoyancy in revenue and mounting interest charges have made increased taxation almost inevitable. A group of members, however, representing business and land-owning interests, took a determined stand against any increase in taxation and M. de Serigny, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, tabled a motion which would bind the Assembly to vote no additional taxation in any circumstances, the deficit to be bridged by compression of present expenditure and by further assistance from France. After visits to Paris by M. Léonard and later by M. Fares, President of the Assembly, it was announced that an additional credit of 3 milliard francs for 25 years at 1½ per cent. interest had been obtained. This will bring the total advances for the coming year from France to the following: 29 milliard francs from the " Fonds de Modernisation " at low interest; 4 milliard francs outright subvention for education and social affairs; 800 million francs rebate on Algeria's military contribution.

M. Fares also announced that a special commission is to be created composed of Deputies to the National Assembly, Delegates to the Algerian Assembly, and officials, to examine the whole question of the financial relations between Algeria and France.

Eventually the budget was balanced at 122 milliard francs and approved. The principal tax increases, estimated to yield 4·9 milliard francs, are 2 francs a litre on petrol; increases in taxes on spirits, in stamp duties (to the metropolitan level) and radio licences. Even so, the balance was only reached by blocking 3 per cent. of the expenditure on new investments included in the estimates for the extraordinary budget.

4. Labour

There was no major labour unrest during the period under review. An attempt was made by the C.G.T. to make capital out of the closing down for economic reasons of certain Algerian mines, but appears to have produced little interest outside those actually affected. There have been occasional short token strikes, generally in step with similar strikes in France.

JF 1013/13 No. 27

QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT—JULY–SEPTEMBER 1954

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Sir Anthony Eden. (*Received October 19*)

(No. 50. Restricted) *Algiers,*
Sir, *October 14, 1954.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended the 30th of September.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), at Malta.

I have, &c.
C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Political Review of Events in Algeria for the Quarter ended September 30, 1954

1. Nationalism

The split in the M.T.L.D. (foreshadowed in my despatch No. 24 of the 8th of April) came into the open with the appearance on the 3rd of September of a new weekly paper *La Nation Algérienne* which reflects the views of the Central Committee as opposed to those of the founder, Messali Hadj, who continues to carry with him Mr. A. Mezerna, the director of the party's original organ,

L'Algérie Libre, and Moulay Merbah. Violence was actually resorted to by Messali's supporters in an attempt to prevent the distribution of the new paper when it first appeared.

The present split follows the election of a Central Committee of " young bloods " during the party's second Congress which was held at Algiers in April 1953. Shortly after this Congress, Messali accused the newly formed Central Committee of political deviation, at the same time demanding full powers for himself.

It does seem as if during the ensuing months some attempt was made by the Central Committee to reach a working agreement with the party leader but, it is claimed, he steadfastly refused to see the delegations which were sent to France for the purpose, while conducting a purge of doubtful elements. Messali bases his attitude on a charge that the Central Committee at Algiers has deviated politically and is no longer truly revolutionary but is now " reformist " and is co-operating with the European element of the town council at Algiers, for instance. There is enough evidence, however, to show that the basic reason for the break is Messali's desire to retain undisputed leadership of the party and with it the limelight.

Heading the new wing and claiming legal succession to the party's title, are two young men, Maître Kiouane, a lawyer who has already been prominent as a member of the International Association of Democratic Jurists, and Hocine Lahouel, the present general secretary. In opposition to Messali's monolithic conception of party control, an Extraordinary Congress of the party, held at Algiers from the 13th to the 16th of August under the aegis of the Central Committee, called for a reorganisation of the party on the following lines:—

(*a*) Democratic centralism.
(*b*) Collective management at all levels.
(*c*) Greater flexibility of the hierarchy to ensure frequent contacts between members and party leaders.
(*d*) Specialisation of duties at all levels including cells, the basic kernel of the party.

An Extraordinary Congress of the party was also convened at Brussels from the 14th to the 16th of July by the Messali faction. This meeting condemned the political deviation of the Central Committee, called for a return to the revolutionary precepts laid down originally by Messali and appointed the latter President of the party for life.

At Algiers, the Extraordinary Congress already referred to divested Messali, Mezerna and Moulay of all authority and denounced the Brussels assembly as illegal and schismatic.

It is difficult to assess the relative following which each group commands among members. There is reason to believe, however, that in Metropolitan France, where the M.T.L.D. has a strong membership among North African workers, Messali has retained control. In Algeria the situation is not as clear and some time must elapse before it can be gauged. At the present time it does not look as if the sympathies of a majority of the party's elected representatives lie with the Central Committee. In the case of the rank and file there is some evidence that local cells are continuing, perhaps from force of habit, to address their reports, &c., to the offices, at Algiers, of the old organisation.

It should be recorded that the Algerian Communist Party has now come out in support of the Central Committee although a censure of the committee's willingness to " co-operate " with the French town councillors at Algiers drew the sharp rebuke that the M.T.L.D. town councillors had been elected to render assistance by any means they could towards the betterment of their people's lot and that this attitude in no way detracted from their revolutionary vocation.

2. Communism

The hardships consequent on the disastrous earthquakes in the Orléansville area provided the Algerian Communist Party with excellent propaganda material both among readers of their Press and among the native victims. Some unfortunate statements in the metropolitan Press were singled out to provide telling material to stir up racial feelings.

Alger Républicain, the Communist daily, was seized on the 20th of July because of a series of articles it was publishing on events in Tunisia. On the 23rd of July the paper was again stopped for the same reason, following which it dropped the offensive articles.

The presence of about 200 Tunisian political prisoners in the Orléansville prison accorded the Communists an opportunity to organise mass demonstrations in their favour on the 8th of August.

3. Algerian Assembly

The Assembly met in a special session on the 12th of October to discuss earthquake relief and reconstruction measures. The President informed the House that the Metropole had undertaken to make an outright gift of 2 milliard francs to be paid over the years 1954–56. The Government will also authorise the issue of a loan of 4 milliard francs for reconstruction after the earthquake. The President stated nothing would be finally decided as to the cost or character of the measures to be taken, without consultation and participation of the Assembly and until its competent committees had explained the questions at issue. " Otherwise," he said, " we cannot take part in any operations with which we are not associated." This would seem unnecessarily abrupt language after the announcement of the generous measures France had already decided to take in support of Algeria.

The *Conseils-Généraux* in Algeria met on the 4th of October to elect their new presidents. The old proportions of 3/5 and 2/5 for members of the 1st and 2nd colleges will be maintained until April, when parity will be introduced as provided for by recent legislation.

4. Labour

A trade union delegation (C.G.T.) visited Paris in July to present the claims and findings of the Fifth Algerian Conference of Trade Unions held in June at Algiers (see my despatch No. 38 of the 8th of July) to the Minister of the Interior. The delegation, which arrived in Paris on the 12th of July, was finally allowed to see the Minister's *Chef de Cabinet*.

5. Visits

A local native football team was received as the guests of Moslem communities in Finland during the greater part of August. This followed the visit to Algiers, in June, of a Finnish Moslem football team.

Ferhat Abbas, the U.D.M.A. party leader, attended as an official guest the ceremonies held in Cairo to commemorate the second anniversary of the revolution.

Two Algerian delegates, Mustapha Saadoun and Rachid Sadaoui, attended the Congress of the International Federation of Democratic Youth held at Peking from the 9th to the 15th of August.

United States Senator Allen Joseph Ellender spent the day of the 28th of August in Algiers and gave a Press conference. The Senator used rather crude language and some newspapers did not publish what he said. Others gave the most outstanding passages without comment. Mr. Ellender said that Americans were disappointed to see that despite the great sums they had given to help poorer countries these countries showed no signs of willingness to co-operate in the common task and were only too ready to evade their international responsibilities. Too often credits given by America instead of improving the lot of the poor had only gone into the pockets of the privileged. Americans were struck by the unjust incidence of taxation in certain countries and Mr. Ellender and most of his colleagues in the Senate wondered whether this liberal policy would not have to stop. " We are not going so far as to cut our own throats," went on the Senator. " People are quite wrong in believing, as they usually do, that Americans are fools." The only newspaper that spoke of the Senator's Press Conference with satisfaction was the Communist organ, which expressed gratification at the Senator's airing in public of the dirty linen of the West.

6. Pilgrims

The Governor-General made his customary visit on board ship to greet the Algerian pilgrims returning from this year's pilgrimage to Mecca. In the course of his speech on the occasion he said: " C'est ici la maison de France: nous sommes tous les fils du même Dieu."

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/1 No. 28

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ALGERIA

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Mr. Eden. (*Received August 11*)

(No. 36. Confidential) *Algiers, July 5, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my personalities report for Algeria for 1954.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Algeria

INDEX

1. Abbas, Ferhat.
2. Abbo, Gabriel.
3. Alazard, Professor Jean.
4. Bayle, Francis.
5. Blachette, Georges
6. Bonnafé, General René, O.B.E.
7. Borgeaud, Henri.
8. Bouakouir, Salah.
9. Bouhali, Larbi.
10. Boumendjel, Ahmed.
11. Callies, General Jean.
12. Chatoney, The Reverend A.
13. Chevallier, Jacques.
14. Cuttoli, Maurice.
15. de Novion, Vicomte G.
16. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain.
17. Duroux, Jean.
18. Duval, Mgr.
19. Eisenbeth, Maurice
20. Fares, Abderrahmane.
21. Ferhat, Belkacem, The Bachagha.
22. Firroloni, General André.
23. Flinois, Marcel.
24. Géli, Rear-Admiral.
25. Germain, Henry.
26. Guellati, Ali.
27. Guiauchain, Jacques.
28. Guiauchain, Pierre.
29. Harbi, Haoues.
30. Ibazizen, Maître.
31. Imbert, Dr. Marc.
32. Justrabo, René.
33. Lambert, Pierre.
34. Lacqière, Raymond.
35. Lardin, General Jean.
36. Lavaysse, Paul.
37. Lecornu, Bernard.
38. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules.
39. Léhuraux, Colonel Léon.
40. Léonard, Roger.
41. Mandon, Raoul.
42. Mathiot, André.
43. Mesbah, Salah, Maître.
44. Messali, Hadj.
45. Meynier, General O.
46. Mezerna, Ahmed.
47. Nabal, Colonel Albert.
48. Pardes, General.
49. Perrier, Raoul.
50. Racim, Mohammed.
51. Ribère, Marcel.
52. Rigollet, Léon.
53. Roche, Tony.
54. Saiah, Abdelkader.
55. Sala, Vice-Admiral Antoine, C.B.E., D.S.O.
56. Schiaffino, Laurent.
57. Seiberras, Georges.
58. Sorensen, Christian, O.B.E.
59. Sportisse, Mme. Alice.
60. Tamzali, Mustapha.
61. Thomassin, Jean.
62. Trémeaud, André.
63. Urbani, Henri.

1. Abbas, Ferhat

Born 1899 at Tahert (Algeria). Chemist by profession, and president of the Moslem Students' Friendly Society at Algiers. Was formerly a member of the Assembly of the French Union. Is Secretary-General of the comparatively moderate U.D.M.A. (Union Democratique du Manifeste Algérien) Nationalist party, and editor of *La République Algérienne*.

2. Abbo, Gabriel

Born 26th June, 1883, at Abbo (Algeria). Wine-grower. Mayor of Abbo since 1918. President of Algerian Federation of Mayors (1919–47). Delegate to the Algerian Assembly. President of C.G.V.A. (Confederation Générale des Vignerons Algériens). Vice-President of F.N.V. (Federation National des Vignerons). Officer of the Legion of Honour. Known as the Grand Old Man of the Algerian wine-growers.

3. Alazard, Professor Jean

Born about 1897. Dean of the Faculty of Letters and director of the National Art Gallery at Algiers. Is president of L'Alliance Française. Has visited the United Kingdom as a guest of the British Council and proved helpful in arranging lectures by British Council representatives visiting Algiers. Is married.

4. Bayle, Francis

Born 1901. Landowner and farmer. Mayor of Saida, member of the Departmental Council of Oran and delegate to the Algerian Assembly. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Was a member of the Finance Committee of the Algerian Assembly, 1950–51, and first vice-president of the Assembly, 1951–52.

5. Blachette, Georges

Born about 1897. Served in the Great War. Is president of the Federation of Algerian Producers' and Exporters' Association. A man of wealth and considerable influence, owns *Le Journal*, one of the Algerian daily (Right-wing) newspapers, and *L'Echo d'Alger*. Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

6. Bonnafé, General René, O.B.E.
Officer Commanding the V^e Région Aérienne (Tunisia—Algeria—Morocco). At the time of the French Armistice in 1940 was serving on the staff of the Officer Commanding the French Air Forces in the Near East. He then joined a unit of the Royal Air Force, and in 1942 the Free French Forces. Was technical adviser to General Leclerc for the Air Force operations in the Fezzan and Tripolitania. Served on General de Gaulle's staff at Algiers in 1943 and became Chief of Staff in Algeria in 1945. Appointed head of the Prime Minister's Military Cabinet in 1947. Officer Commanding the Second Air Region, 1948, and transferred to his present appointment in 1950. He is a member of the French Air Council, a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and holds numerous French and foreign decorations. General Bonnafé is married, and he and his wife are popular in social circles at Algiers and frequently entertain in their attractive official residence. Both are very pro-British. He is an intimate friend of Prince Aly Khan, whose acquaintance he made during the war.

7. Borgeaud, Henri
Senator for the Department of Algiers and President of the Rassemblement de la Gauche Républicaine. Is a landowner, wine-grower and businessman of considerable means. Presented Algiers with its first blood plasma laboratory.

8. Bouakouir, Salah
Directeur du Commerce, de l'Energie et de l'Industrie, Algerian Government General. Highest ranking Moslem on Governor-General's staff.

9. Bouhali, Larbi
Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. Was sentenced in July 1952 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600,000 francs for plotting against the internal security of the State. Sentenced again in 1953.

10. Boumendjel, Ahmed
Born about 1902. Native barrister. Member of the U.D.M.A. Nationalist Party; occasionally writes articles for *La République Algérienne*.

11. Callies, General Jean
Officer Commanding the X^e Région Militaire Algeria). Aged 55 years. Born in Brittany. Entered Saint Cyr in 1914. Served in the Great War. Was wounded at Verdun in 1916, promoted captain and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour at the age of 20. Subsequently served in Syria and Morocco. Chief of Staff of the 20th Division in September 1929, promoted Lieut.-Colonel, March 1940, and took part in the fighting in Luxembourg in May 1940. After the French collapse was sent again, at his request, to Morocco where he commanded and re-organised the 8th Régiment de Tirailleurs Marocains until his promotion to colonel in June 1942. Headed the French delegation to the German Armistice Commission at Casablanca, and gave up this appointment when the Allies landed in North Africa on 8th November, 1942.

He was then entrusted with the task of training young officers in North Africa for the Army of Liberation. Served with distinction in the Italian campaign where he finished with the rank of brigadier. Later commanded the First Infantry Division in the First French Army, which landed in the south of France and fought through to the Danube. Was for a time Governor of the Saar, and promoted Général de Division in December 1945. Assumed his present command in Algeria in May 1950. General Callies is an active and able soldier, he is affable but cannot always conceal his bias against Britain, which appears to derive from professional jealousy.

12. Chatoney, The Reverend A.
President of the Reformed Church of France in Algeria.

13. Chevallier, Jacques
Born about 1912. Belongs to an old French family established in Algeria for the past 80 years. Holds a degree in law from Algiers University. Mayor of El Biar, a suburb of Algiers, April 1941, at the age of 29. Was held in high esteem by General Weygand and appointed a member of the old Financial Assembly of Algeria. Volunteered for service with the French Army in Italy but was recalled and appointed principal liaison officer to the French counter-espionage services in the United States and Canada. He has been a Deputy to the National Assembly since January 1952 and was for some time prior to that a Delegate to the Algerian Assembly. He was elected Mayor of Algiers in May 1953, and appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Armed Forces (War) in M. Mendès-France's Government in June 1954.

M. Chevallier's political career has been very varied. Though a firm believer in the French presence in Algeria he has at times been very liberal in his attitude to the nationalists. A spontaneous open and likeable character. He is very friendly and speaks excellent English. His mother is a member of an old French family long resident in Louisiana.

14. Cuttoli, Maurice
The Secretary-General. Born 1905 at Bône, Algeria. Bachelor of Laws. After practising as a barrister at the Court of Appeal of Algiers, entered the French Civil Service in 1929, and in 1934 was Sous-Préfet in the Department of Aube. In 1936 and again in 1938 was Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Under-Secretary of the Interior. Sous-Préfet of Mamers and Boulogne, 1940. Préfet of the Department of Aube, 1942, when he is understood to have played an important part in the Resistance Movement. Préfet of the Somme Department after the liberation of Oran (Algeria) in 1947, and of the Department of Oise, 1949. Was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour for services rendered during the war. Assumed office as Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria, December 1951. M. Cuttoli is married and both he and his wife are pro-British and most friendly. Officier de La Légion d'Honneur November 1952.

15. de Novion, Vicomte G.
Born about 1902. Local manager of the Swedish Match Corporation. Was appointed Austrian Vice-Consul in Algiers in April 1954. Active and frequently away on business in various countries. Does not indulge in politics. Speaks fluent English. His wife, who is Swedish, is prominent in local society. They are a wealthy couple and very friendly.

16. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain
Born about 1907. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly of which he was elec ed Third Vice-President in May 1953, and manager of *L'Eco d'Alger*. Combines with his journalistic profession considerable political activities in which he is definately Right-wing. His wife is a daugh er of M. Torp, Honorary Consul-General for Norway. Both M. and Mme. de Serigny speak English.

17. Duroux, Jean
Born about 1907. Son of the late Senator, Jacques Duroux. Whilst not engaged in active politics, is energetic in pulling strings behind the scenes. Owner of *L'Echo d'Alger*, "Cargos Algériens," flour mills and large estates. His wife, who is a daughter of the Norwegian Consul-General, is the sister-in-law of M. Alain de Serigny (*q.v.*).

18. Duval, Mgr.
Archbishop of Algiers. Enthroned March 25, 1954.

19. Eisenbeth, Maurice
Grand Rabbi of Algiers. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

20. Fares, Abderrahmane
Born 1911 at Constantine, Algeria. Was first Moslem admitted to practise as Notary in Algeria. Was president of the Algerian Assembly for the year May 1953–April 1954. Is a firm believer in Moslem co-operation with the French and in the possibility of a synthesis of the two cultures. He was an able president and commanded the respect of delegates to both colleges. Is married and lives as a European. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

21. Ferhat, Belkacem, The Bachaga
Third Vice-President (1952–53). Born about 1873. Belongs to an old noble Moslem family. Served with the French forces in the Great War, holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Member of the Conseil Superieur of Algeria.

22. Firroloni, General André
Born November 6, 1905. Appointed Air Officer Commander-in-Chief, Algeria, in September 1953. He is Commander of the Legion of Honour, Croix de Guerre, 1939–45, and holds numerous other decorations. He and his wife are very friendly.

23. Flinois Marcel
Born 1900 at Saida (Algeria). Studied law at Algiers University and was called to the Bar. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre. Was a member of the old Financial Assembly and since 1948 has been delegate to the Algerian Assembly, in which he has served successively as Rapporteur-Général of the Budget, President of the Finance Committee, and, in 1950–51, as President of the Assembly.

24. Geli, Rear-Admiral
Assumed command at Oran of the Marine en Algérie on April 10, 1952.

25. Germain, Henry
Senior member of a family of important landowners and wine producers. Creator of the first regular air line in North Africa, now a part of Air France.

26. Guellati, Ali
A Moslem. Member of the Algerian Assembly. President of the Commission de l'Economie de l'Union Française. Vice-President Union Algérienne des Sociétés Indigenes de Prévoyance. Conseiller du Commerce Extérieure de la France. Administrateur de la Banque de l'Algérie et de Tunisie at Paris. Has considerable influence at Paris as advocate for the small Moslem agriculturalist.

27. Guiauchain, Jacques
One of the owners of the Hôtel St. George, of which he obtained control in 1952. Is an architect by profession, and was designer of the Government-General building.

28. Guiauchain, Pierre
Owner, together with his younger brother Jacques (*q.v.*) and his sister, of the Hôtel St. George. Was also actively engaged in various business interests and was chairman of the Algiers Employers' Association until his health broke down early in 1952. The two Guiauchains had a British mother and are very pro-British.

29. Harbi, Haoues
Born 1901. Moslem landowner and farmer. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for a constituency in the Department of Constantine. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly, 1951–52.

30. Ibazizen, Maitre
Moslem barrister. Frequently takes up cases on behalf of Nationalists.

31. Imbert, Dr. Marc
Very pro-British. Invariably arranges hockey matches when Her Majesty's ships visit Algiers. Has flown his hockey team to Malta and Gibraltar for return matches.

32. Justrabo, René
Born about 1917 at Mascara (Algeria). Communist delegate for a constituency of Oran to the Algerian Assembly. Was Mayor of Sidi-bel-Abbès until March 1953 when he and the town councillors were removed from office for corrupt administration.

33. Lambert, Pierre
Prefect of Oran (November 1953). Born Paris, February 2, 1901. Last post Prefect Saône et Loire (September 6, 1946). Played an active part in Resistance. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and Companion of the Liberation.

34. Laquière, Raymond
Born in 1881 at Saint Eugène, suburb of Algiers. Belongs to an old Algerian family with a distinguished military record. Studied law at Algiers University. Admitted to Algiers Bar. Entered politics about 1920, when he was elected Counsellor of the Department of Algiers and Mayor of Saint Eugène. Was Deputy for Algiers, 1928–32. Elected delegate to the Algerian Assembly when it was formed in 1948 and became its first President. Holds the Croix de Guerre for distinguished service in the Great War, and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour. Was again President of the Algerian Assembly for the year 1952–53 and was re-elected Mayor of St. Eugène in May 1953. Is liked and respected by most delegates. He is a shrewd politician, an able orator and a firm partisan of the French position in Algeria, but always ready to fight the central authorities in the interests of Algeria. Elected president of the Algerian Assembly for the third time in May 1954.

35. Lardin, General Jean
Général de Brigade. General Officer Commanding the 21st Infantry Division of Algeria (D.I.A.), November 1952. Former General Officer Commanding Division of Algiers (February/November 1952). Commander of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre, Médaille de la Résistance. A bachelor: well disposed to us.

36. Lavaysse, Paul
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born about 1897. Served in the Great War after which he entered Prefectorial Service. Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Governor-General in 1940. Is now in charge of Administration at the Prefecture. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

37. Lecornu, Bernard
Préfet of Constantine. Born about 1910. Entered the French Home Civil Service in 1933 and served in various posts in France as Chef de Cabinet to the Préfet and as Sous-Préfet. Sous-Préfet of St. Nazaire, 1942, and Préfet of the Department of Correze in 1943. Was closely linked with the Resistance Movement and finally relieved of his duties by the Vichy Government, when he went underground until the arrival of the Allied armies. Was subsequently appointed Préfet of the Hautes Alpes, then of the Doubs Department, and, finally, of Constantine in December 1951. Holds the Médaille de la Résistance, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

38. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules
A leading member of the Algiers Bar and former *Ratonnier*. Was some time legal adviser to Her Majesty's Consulate-General.

39. Léhuraux, Colonel Léon
Born 29th December, 1885. Member of Algerian Assembly. Former Mehariste officer. Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Algérie. Former Directeur of the Southern Territories, Algerian Government-General. An authority on things Saharan. Commander of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre (1914–18). Médaille Coloniale. Médaille Militaire Egyptienne.

40. Léonard, Roger
The Governor-General. Born 1899 at Bordeaux. Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws. Served in the Great War. Entered the French Civil Service as Chef de Cabinet of the Préfet of the Department of Gironde in 1921. In July 1940 was relieved of his duties as Directeur du Contentieux de la Justice Militaire for not having carried out certain instructions from the Vichy Government. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement. After the war was appointed Préfet of the Department of Seine-et-Oise, and, in May 1947, Préfet de Police of Paris. Is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre, 1939–45. Assumed office as Governor-General of Algeria, May 1951.
M. Léonard is married. He is slightly incapacitated by deafness. Has a keen and precise mind and is very friendly to us. His speeches, though very sound, are rather drily delivered. He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Italian Republic on May 21, 1954.

41. Mandon, Raoul
Second Vice-President (1952–53). Born about 1888. Engineer by profession. Wounded in the Great War. Holds the Military Medal and the Croix de Guerre, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for the City of Constantine. Was Third Vice-President, 1951–52.

42. Mathiot, André
Born about 1907. Wealthy and prominent in Algiers society; mainly interested in horses and racing. Is president of the Société des Concours Hippiques d'Alger.

43. Mesbah Salah, Maître
First Vice-President (1952–53). Born 1913 at Gueuzet (Algeria) of an old Moslem family of magistrates in the district of Sétif. Studied at Algiers and at the University of Toulouse. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly in 1949–50, and is rapporteur of the Committee on the Moslem Cult. Is *Batonnier* of the Sétif Bar.

44. Messali, Hadj
Born about 1898 at Tlemcen (Algeria). Served in the army during the Great War, after which he remained in France, working and studying at the Paris School for Oriental Languages and at the Sorbonne. Later frequented revolutionary circles, and after working for a short time with the Communist Party, decided to leave it and concentrate on the "liberation" of Moslem nationals in Algeria. From 1929–34 his subversive activities led several times to his arrest and imprisonment by the French authorities. In March 1937 a group of Algerian Moslems in France founded the Parti du Peuple Algérien (P.P.A.), of which Messali was elected president. The party's work took him back to Algeria, for which he demanded dominion status and a freely elected Parliament. He was arrested in August 1937 at Algiers and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In August 1939 Messali was released from prison but was again arrested and detained until March 1941, when a military court sentenced him to 16 years hard labour. He was subsequently pardoned in 1943 by General Giraud. Since then the continual agitation for Algerian independence by Messali and his party have proved a source of anxiety to the French Government. The P.P.A. gradually became the M.T.L.D. (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Democratiques) with Messali as its recognised leader. On May 14, 1952, there were serious disturbances at Orléansville, when four demonstrators were killed. Messali was subsequently expelled from Algeria and taken under escort to Niort in the Deux Sevres Department where he has been ordered to remain. Recently a rift has been reported between him and the local leadership of the party and Messali has circulated a manifesto purporting to remove the Algiers leaders from office.

45. Meynier, General O.
Retired. A leading personality in Algiers. President of the association known as Les Amis du Sahara, and of the Comité d'Organisation du Rallye Mediterannée/Le Cap.

46. Mezerna, Ahmed
Chairman of the M.T.L.D. Nationalist Party and editor of *L'Algérie Libre*.

47. Nabal, Colonel Albert
Secretary of the association Les Amis du Sahara. Is very pro-British and always willing to help British trans-Sahara travellers.

48. Pardes, General
Appointed G.O.C. of the Algiers Division in November 1952. Hard working and efficient officer who has always been extremely friendly to us. Was largely responsible for the excellent arrangements made to receive and succour the ship-wrecked survivors of the *Empire Windrush* disaster in March 1954.

49. Perrier, Raoul
Born about 1907. Managing director of *La Depêche Quotidienne* of Algiers.

50. Racim, Mohammed
Born Algiers on 24th June, 1896. Moslem miniaturist. Cross of the Legion of Honour (1947). Has exhibited in Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, Bucharest, Oslo, Cairo, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Tunis. Married. Wife is Scandinavian. Very friendly Is inclined to be given the cold shoulder by French officialdom as he represents the antithesis of the present policy of latinisation.

51. Ribère, Marcel
Educated at Constantine and Algiers University Doctor of Pharmacy. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Service Cross. Represents a constituency of the Departmen of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

52. Rigollet, Léon
Vice-President of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. A member of various committees dealing with maritime and land transport. Formerly Honorary Polish Consul at Algiers. Croix de Guerre. Officer of the Legion of Honour (1952).

53. Roche, Tony
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born 1914. Was in the teaching profession before the war and was appointed in November 1944, Sous-Préfet at Châteaudun. Appointed Secretary-General of the Prefecture in August 1949. Transferred in April 1952 to Algiers, where he is in charge of security, police and visa questions at the Prefecture. Holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour (military). Speaks good English and has visited the United Kingdom. Married.

54. Saiah Abdelkader
Born 1889 at Orléansville (Algeria). Member of an old Algerian (Moslem) family established in the Orléansville district for the past five centuries. His grandfather, Saiah Si Henni, was supporter of the French occupation from the beginning, and co-operated with Marshal Bugeaud. Saiah Abdelkader played a leading part in municipal and departmental administration, and was financial delegate to the Government-General. Officer of the Legion of Honour, 1920. Counsellor of the Republic, 1946. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly since 1948, when he was elected Vice-President President of the Assembly, 1949–50, and again in 1951–52 Is pro-French and held in high esteem by the French authorities, and for that reason looked upon by extremists as a French puppet. Married in May 1954 at Versailles to Mme. Dalin, a Frenchwoman, previously private secretary to the Governor-General, M. Léonard.

55. Sala, Vice-Admiral Antoine, C.B.E., D.S.O.
Senior Naval Officer in Algeria and Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.
Born 1898. Entered the French Naval College in 1916. As capitaine de vaisseau was head of the French Naval Mission in the United Kingdom in 1943. Promoted to Rear-Admiral and appointed Naval Attaché in London, 1944. Commanded a Cruiser Squadron in 1949. Promoted Vice-Admiral. Appointed Naval Commander-in-Chief in Morocco and later Préfet Maritime at Toulon, which post he occupied immediately before his appointment to Algiers at the end of 1951. Admiral Sala is obviously an able officer. He has tact and a pleasant manner. He is married and both he and Mme. Sala, who have spent a total of nine years in London, speak fluent English and are very pro-British. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean in 1952. He is on terms of personal friendship with Admiral Lord Mountbatten. He was promoted to the rank of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour in April 1952.

56. Schiaffino, Laurent
Born about 1907. Wealthiest shipowner in Algeria. Owner of the Schiaffino Line, with many other interests centred around the port of Algiers. President of the Chamber of Commerce of Algiers and of the Région Economique (federation of the Chambers of Commerce of Algeria).

57. Seiberras, Georges
Owner of the largest cinema circuit in French North Africa. Pro-British and very helpful.

58. Sorensen, Christian, O.B.E.
A leading member of a French family of Scandinavian descent established in Algiers and a partner in, the prominent wine firm of P. Sorensen & Cie. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement and was at least once parachuted into France. His wife is an American citizen.

59. Sportisse, Mme. Alice
Communist deputy for the Department of Oran to the French National Assembly.

60. Tamzali, Mustapha
Born at Bougie (Algeria), July 1885. One of the wealthiest Moslem industrialists, exporters (chiefly olive oil) and property owners in Algiers. Has long-standing business connexions with the United Kingdom. Is Honorary Treasurer of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. Loyal to régime but professes dissatisfaction at slow pace of moslemisation of public services.

61. Thomassin, Jean
Deputy Secretary-General. Formerly Prefect at Vienne. Took up his local appointment in January 1954.

62. Trémeaud, André
Préfet of Algiers. Born 1903 at Gex. After taking his degree at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, entered the French Home Civil Service in 1932. Served in various posts, assisted in the Resistance Movement during the war, and managed to elude the Gestapo, being Sous-Préfet of Saumur at the time of the Liberation. Was appointed Préfet of the Department of Vienne in October 1944, and subsequently Préfet of the Departments of Haute Vienne (1947) and Loiret (1949). Appointed Préfet at Algiers at the end of December 1951. M. Trémeaud, who is married, is pro-British and has visited the United Kingdom. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

63. Urbani, Henri
Deputy Secretary-General for Economic Affairs.
Born 1902. A former barrister at the Court of Appeal, after which he entered Government Service. Discharges his heavy duties, which involve considerable contact with the Algerian Assembly, with tact and ability, and is generally liked. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

CHAPTER V.—TUNISIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/4 No. 29

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA

No. 1 for the Period November 1, 1953, to January 31, 1954

(Received February 9)

General

During the period under review local interest has been mainly taken up with the presidential election in France, a local rumpus about taxation, by trade union agitation for wage increases and by speculation about Habib Bourguiba for whose release the Nationalists and Socialists continue to press. At the end of January the Resident-General in a speech made in Paris promised that a programme of reform would be begun before the end of the year.

The Resident-General

The Resident-General, who had gone to Paris at the end of October, returned to Tunis on November 10 and annnounced that he had no cut-and-dried solution of the Tunisian problem which could only be solved by hard work and discussion in Tunis. He announced also that the French Government had agreed to make 12 milliard francs available to Tunisia for the fund for modernisation and equipment under the Four-Year Plan.

M. Voizard has visited various parts of the Regency notably Kairouan and Sfax and Sousse, where he said that he would like to be remembered as the Resident of Friendship and Reconciliation. He made a short visit to Paris on December 7th and went again to Paris on January 20th returning before the end of the month. He went, he said, to present his respects to the new President and it was suggested that, although he would no doubt discuss amongst other problems the question of releasing Bourguiba, little could be decided as M. Bidault would be absent in Berlin while M. Voizard was in Paris. On January 26th, however, M. Voizard made a speech at a luncheon given in his honour by the Cercle Républicain D'Outre Mer at which he said that everyone in Tunis was glad that a détente had resulted from the appeal for calm made by the Bey in September but that no solution in North Africa could be expected unless France itself was united. It was only natural that the Nationalists should be awaiting with growing impatience some more tangible progress towards a real solution of the Tunisian problem. He was able to say without going into detail that a programme of reforms (un train de réformes) would be set in motion before the end of the year and that these reforms would safeguard French interests both local and metropolitan without compromising Tunisian sovereignty. The French Press greeted these pronouncements as the first steps towards a real understanding in Tunisia. The Arabic Press on the other hand said that the wording was vague and that the country was tired of French promises and wanted to see some real progress.

At the new year all the remaining nationalist éloignés except Habib Bourguiba were allowed to return home. This is said to leave only three or four Communists detained in the south. It appears, however, that some of those released are either under house arrest or are not permitted to leave the district of the Contrôle Civile in which they live. The Nationalist Press still complains about the Tunisians confined in Algeria but the authorities here maintain that these are common criminals condemned by the local courts for whom there is no room in the Tunisian prisons. They would be glad to repatriate these men to Tunisia both on general grounds and because the Algerian authorities only accept the prisoners as paying guests.

The Resident-General's New Year reception was well attended by Tunisians as well as French and the Resident-General's New Year call on the Bey was returned by his son Prince Chedly.

The Bey

The Bey has remained on cordial terms with the Residency but he has made no move to break his seclusion. He received the Nationalists who had been released from detention in the south and sent his son Prince Chedly to return their

call at the house of Mongi Slim. He is said to be generally in favour of M. Voizard's plans for gradual introduction of reforms and to be more likely to agree to them than the Neo Destourians who would be content with little short of immediate independence, and now tend to regard the Bey as being in the Resident's pocket.

The Tunisian Government

The Government's campaign to reduce the cost of living lost any impetus it originally possessed and the announcement of new professional licence taxes (patentes) and the proposed relaxation of the rent restriction act for office premises raised a storm of protest in which the French and Tunisians were for once united. The lawyers went on administrative strike for ten days, a large percentage of the shops closed for half a day, indignation meetings were frequent and Press communiqués abounded on all sides. The Resident-General, who felt involved because he had signed one of the decrees, after explaining that he had the approval of the Bey and that he was not attempting to indulge in direct administration, called a meeting at which the representatives of the professions and the merchants were confronted with the Director of Finance, the Director of Housing and Reconstruction and the other Ministers involved and after some plain speaking on both sides the storm began to subside. The changes proposed by the Government seemed hardly to merit the uproar which they caused and it is possible that the local Press was enjoying its first opportunity since the lifting of the censorship to criticise the authorities, who for their part may have felt that the incident nicely occupied the time when no political developments could be expected in Tunis owing to the aftermath of the presidential election in France. The Director of Finance, however, made some amendments in his proposals which reduced the expected yield by 120 million francs from 500 millions to 380 millions. He took the opportunity to comment that those who had roared the loudest were those whose tax returns would least bear inspection and he had on his side the officials who felt themselves handicapped in the national game of tax evasion because their salaries were taxed at source.

The Government agreed to purchase 31,000 hectares of the Enfida lands from the Société Marseillaise. This transaction both provided the Society with capital to continue development of the 18,000 hectares remaining to it and made the land which had been sold available for the settlement of 5,000 families. The Enfida lands have long been the cause of discontent and occasional riots amongst the peasants who claimed squatters' rights. This was a handy subject for Nationalist propaganda.

Since the lifting of the censorship the Arabic Press has attacked the Government for failing to make education available to all, for not giving facilities for the extension of the Zitouna, the university attached to the Grand Mosquée, and for allowing teaching in French rather than in the "language of the country," Arabic. The Director of Education, M. Lucien Paye, maintained that the primary schools had accepted all the children who had applied for education and that at least half the children of school age were either still nomadic or lived in communities too small and scattered to be reached. The students at the Zitouna, which comes under the Tunisian Minister of State and not the French Director of Education, declared a strike and some went on hunger strike for a short period but when it was explained that the site on which the university extension is to be built was being released the students quieted down.

The Arabic Press did not fail to comment on the fact that a site in Tunis which the Directorate of Education wanted for a public library had been allocated for the construction of a new Contrôle Civile.

Public Safety

The détente which began in October with the arrival of M. Voizard continued and there were no incidents of a political nature. It appears, however, that the extremists are rearming and stores of sub-machine guns, revolvers and explosives which are said to come from Italy and Egypt have been discovered in various parts of the country.

The Military Courts are continuing the trials arising out of incidents which took place in January and February 1952 and severe sentences are being handed down.

Habib Bourguiba

With the release of the Nationalist détenus the question of the disposal of Habib Bourguiba gained in prominence. The Arab papers unanimously demanded that he should be removed from the island of La Galite, where they said his health was suffering, and that he should be set free or at least removed to France. The same line was taken by the *Petit Matin* and *Tunis Socialiste* (which also asked for the release of Maurice Nizard and the three other Communists under detention) as well as by papers in France. The report was repeatedly set about that Bourguiba would be released first after M. Voizard's visit to Paris in December, then at the new year, again on January 17th when M. Coty assumed office, and once more when M. Voizard returned from Paris.

Meanwhile Bourguiba has been visited by his family and the French medical services have also visited him and pronounced that he is in good health and that the climate of La Galite is not unhealthy.

Economic and Labour

Business has declined and the merchants complained that Christmas sales were not up to normal. The south has been unable to sell the dates which were not spoilt by the November rain while the heavy olive crop has greatly reduced the price of olive oil and business is slack. There was no esparto grass mowing by the end of January and in the Sahol, where sowings of cereals were increased after the autumn rain, there is a danger that the crops will be much reduced through lack of rain in January. There are also complaints that the local phosphates are being undersold in Europe by phosphates imported from America.

The Resident-General has been occupied with trying to find markets for the Tunisian crops of grain and olive oil for which French buyers have shown little enthusiasm.

The trade unions held meetings to commemorate the anniversary of the assassination of Farhat Hached on December 5th. The occasion passed off quietly. They have also been pressing for the release of the "Supreme Leader," Habib Bourguiba, and for the release of the prisoners held in Algiers. There has been agitation for wage increases and the Government solution of setting up a committee to consider the question has been ill received. Successful token strikes have been held by the railwaymen (U.G.T.T. and C.F.C.T.) in protest against staff dismissals, and by the phosphate miners (U.S.T.T.) and public works and municipal employees (C.G.T. and F.O.) for wage increases. Further action was threatened if wage claims were not met by the end of January.

Press

With the lifting of the censorship three new Nationalist papers have appeared, *Al Akhbar, Al Barid* (dailies) and *Az Zitouna*, a weekly mainly representing the view of the students at the Moslem university. It was rumoured at the end of January that the ban on former Destourian papers would be lifted. *El Ouatan*, a satirical weekly, had already begun to appear.

Tunisie-France (daily) which represents the point of view of the French colon but which normally lies dormant while its editor spends the summer in France reappeared on December 12th.

The Tunisian Press, both French and Arabic, appeared to derive satisfaction from the results of the Sudan elections which were said to be a set-back to British policy.

The Arabic Press had some difficulty in dealing with the news that Neguib had suppressed the Moslem brotherhood and after suggesting that the step was necessary to counter British machinations fell back on the idea that it could not be in possession of all the facts and was therefore in no position to judge. The question was soon superseded by the events in Morocco and the Tetuan meeting which was very fully reported, though there was little sign that Franco's pro-Arab gesture was being taken at face value.

Al Ousbough appears to be particularly opposed to Sir Winston Churchill and deplored the award of the Nobel prize to this "impenitent colonialist known for his inhuman methods and convictions."

Paria, a paper published in Casablanca, was banned for three months for publishing an article offensive to the Bey.

Visits

H.M.S. *Forth*, together with five submarines, paid a very successful five-day visit to Bizerta at the end of November.

King Idris of Libya passed through Tunisia on his return from Europe and went direct from Constantine to Gabes and Tripoli. Although he had seen the Sultan of Morocco, he declined to call on the Bey.

Mr. Easterman and Dr. Perlzweig of the World Jewish Congress visited Tunis to enquire into the position of the Jewish community here. They were received by the Resident-General and by the Bey.

General Guillaume, together with other officers from Morocco, visited Tunis in connection with the defence exercise " Operation Sauvegarde."

Marshal Juin attended the celebrations at Tunis and Sousse on January 30th and 31st of the tenth anniversary of the Battle of Belvedere.

P 1013/8 G No. 30

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN TUNISIA

(No. 63. Intel. Restricted) *Foreign Office, March 12, 1954.*

M. Baccouche's Government was replaced on March 2 by a new Tunisian Government under Mohamad Salah Mzali who had been a Minister in the Nationalist Government of M. Chenik. Arrested in March 1952 with M. Chenik, M. Mzali had been released later that year against an undertaking not to take part in politics. On the installation of M. Mzali's Government the Bey reminded his subjects of his appeal for calm issued last September, stated that a series of decrees had been prepared incorporating the reforms recently agreed and invited his subjects to unite in support of the Mzali Ministry which had his complete confidence. In a broadcast speech the Resident-General emphasised that the change of Government had taken place in response to the wishes of the Bey.

2. On March 4 the Bey sealed the promised decrees which authorised far-reaching reforms in the Executive, in the Representative Assemblies and in local government. The Council of Ministers, which formerly had seven French and seven Tunisian members, now comprises eight Tunisian Ministers (President of the Council and Ministers for Muslim Institutions, Public Health, Agriculture, Commerce, Justice, Labour and Housing and Town Planning), four permanent French members (Directors of Finance, Public Works and Education and the Secretary-General) and one other French member (Director of Postal Services) who will attend meetings of the Council when his Department is concerned. The Secretary-General ceases to be the administrative head of the Government and becomes subordinate to the President of the Council. He will continue to co-ordinate the Orders of the various Departments, but these must now be submitted to the President of the Council for his signature. The visa of the Resident-General for Ministerial Orders (*arrêtés*) is abolished, but not apparently his visa for decrees.

3. The 1952 plan of reforms had proposed two distinct Assemblies, both created by beylical decrees; one, the Legislative Council, composed exclusively of Tunisians nominated in the first place by the Bey, and the other, the Financial Council, half French and half Tunisian. This formula, which was widely criticised, has now been replaced by a new scheme covering on the one hand a Tunisian Assembly, created by beylical decree, and on the other a French " Delegation " created by an Order of the Resident-General. The Tunisian Assembly comprises forty-five Tunisian members (including two Jews) elected in two stages by all male Tunisians of 25 years and over, for a period of nine years, a third of the Assembly being re-elected every three years. This Assembly must be consulted by the Government before the adoption of any legislative decree of an economic or social character and may be consulted by them on any question, administrative, economic or social. The French Delegation comprises twenty-three Delegates and

nineteen Assistant Delegates elected for nine years on a universal direct suffrage by adult French residents; a third of the Delegation also is re-elected every three years. It must be consulted by the Resident-General before he approves any legislative decree of an economic or social character and may also be consulted by him on any other question. He is not, however, bound to accept the Delegation's views. For financial questions the Tunisian Assembly meets in special joint session with the forty-two members of the French Delegation and also a Delegation of nineteen nominated by the French and Tunisian Chambers of Commerce (eight Tunisians, eleven French).

4. Further reforms are made to the machinery of local government in the light of experience gained from the operation of the decrees of December 20, 1952. In the Municipal Councils, for example, where hitherto the Head of the Municipality has been nominated by the Bey, the Councils will now elect their Head from among their own members. In Tunis, because of the importance of the French population, the Head of the Municipality must be French and the Deputy Head Tunisian. In other Municipal Councils where French elements are represented the Deputy Head must be of a different nationality from the Head. Measures are also announced for strengthening the Caidal Councils and for completing the local elections of last spring. The elections for the Tunisian Assembly and the French Delegation will be held within three months.

5. The reforms may be subject to amendment after a period of trial.

6. The official French view is that the structure of the new Assemblies will justify the reaffirmation of the principle of Tunisian sovereignty while assuring to the French, who make the preponderant contribution to the financial resources of the Tunisian State, the right to participate on a basis of equality with Tunisians in the examination of the budget and the voting of taxes. The reforms also give a more democratic character to the Tunisian Assembly since it is now elected on a universal adult male suffrage. They are in keeping with the declared French objective: evolution of Tunisia towards a régime of internal autonomy and democratisation of the country's institutions. In moving away from the principle of parity and reducing the powers of the Resident-General they represent a substantial advance on the 1952 proposals.

7. The reforms have provoked unfavourable comment from spokesmen of both the neo-Destour and the French settlers but so far there have been no disturbances. Given continuance of the present goodwill between the Resident-General, the Bey and his Ministers there is promise of a period of orderly development in Tunisia.

8. Any of the above may be used in answer to questions.

JF 1015/15 No. 31

APPROVAL BY THE BEY OF TUNIS OF A SERIES OF GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received March 16)

(No. 21. Restricted) *Tunis, March 12, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on March 4, 1954, His Highness the Bey of Tunis approved and sealed a series of decrees incorporating the reforms which he had agreed after negotiation with the Resident-General and which had received the approval of the French Government. A copy of the *Journal Officiel Tunisien*(1) containing the texts of the decrees is enclosed.

2. The provisions incorporated in the decrees may be briefly summed up as follows:—

(i) The Council of Ministers under the direction of the Prime Minister is to consist of eight Tunisian Ministers and four French permanent members (the Secretary-General and the Directors of Finance, Public Works and Education). The Director of Posts and Telegraphs may attend the

(1) Not printed.

Council when the affairs of his department are under discussion. This decree puts an end to the equality of French and Tunisian representation in the Executive Council but leaves the key departments in French hands.

(ii) A second decree increasing the scope and powers of the office of Prime Minister (President of the Council of Ministers) by allocating to his office some of the functions formerly the responsibility of the Secretary-General and the Minister of State (henceforth to be known as the Minister for Moslem Institutions). The Secretary-General now becomes responsible to the President of the Council and loses much of his former power. In future the President of the Council will exercise the power of veto on ministerial regulations formerly held by the Resident-General.

(iii) A Tunisian Consultative Assembly is to be set up consisting of forty-three Moslem and two Jewish members chosen by indirect election. All Tunisian males of over twenty-five except serving soldiers and persons who have received a sentence of more than three months will be qualified to vote. The members will be elected for a term of nine years and one-third of the Assembly will be renewed every third year. The Assembly must be consulted on all economic and social legislation unconnected with the budget and may be consulted by the Government on all administrative, economic and social questions. It is forbidden to discuss any matters touching the Royal Family, the organisation of the State or treaties. For financial questions the Assembly will go into " special budget session " in which it will be joined by a delegation of nineteen members nominated by the French and Tunisian Chambers of Agriculture, Commerce and Mines (the so-called Economic Chambers) and by the members of the Assembly representing the French in Tunisia. The approval of the Budgetary Assembly will be required before the State may contract public loans. Its resolutions may not be disregarded except in matters concerning the Civil List, the Resident-General's emoluments, defence, public order, international agreements, the public debt or the balance of the budget.

(iv) A regulation issued by the Resident-General sets up an Assembly representing the French in Tunisia to consist of twenty-three members and nineteen assistants elected for nine years by direct universal suffrage and one-third renewable every third year.

This assembly must be consulted by the Resident-General on all proposed social and economic legislation and may also be consulted on other matters.

(v) The Economic Chambers are also to sit for nine years and their membership is to be one-third renewable every third year. They are given powers to raise funds to finance their operations.

(vi) The Caidal Councils, now to sit for nine years, are extended to include the local members of the Tunisian and French Assemblies and the members of the Economic Chambers.

(vii) The Municipal Councils are to sit for nine years and to substitute an elected president for the Caid (a nominated official) who will however be represented at the Council by a " Government representative."

(viii) In the Municipal Council for Tunis, the President is to be chosen from amongst the French Councillors.

3. This programme of reform which was negotiated in secret by the Resident-General with the Bey and his representatives is, as could be expected, a compromise between the Bey's desire to maintain his prerogative, the nationalist demand for autonomy and the French need to safeguard the interests of their settlers and officials. It was put through so quickly that both French and Tunisians were taken by surprise. The Resident-General returned from Paris on March 1 ostensibly with authority from the French Government to continue his negotiations with the Bey; the Mzali Government succeeded the Baccouche ministry on the morning of March 2. The decrees were sealed on the morning of March 4. It was hoped to hold elections for the Assembly before Ramadan, which will be early in May, but Mzali has now stated that he expects that it will not be possible to prepare the necessary regulations and electoral lists in time and that the elections will take place after the fast about mid-June.

4. When the first effect of the surprise had abated the reforms were received with apprehension by the French and without enthusiasm by the Tunisians. After further study opposition from both sides increased in intensity. The neo-Destour, the trade unions, the Socialists and the Communists held that the reforms did not go far enough. They were merely the 1952 de Hauteclocque programme slightly amended. They did not provide the Tunisians with self-government in home affairs because the French had retained the key ministries of Finance, Public Works and Education as well as the whole system of the Contrôles Civils. No solution was proposed for the question of the public service and the proposed administrative court appeared to have been dropped. There was special representation provided in the budgetary assembly for the employers who were members of the economic chambers but none for the trade unionists. The admission of French representatives to the Caidal Councils seemed to some critics to be close to direct administration and co-sovereignty which the neo-Destour consider to be entirely unacceptable in principle.

5. The French, particularly the members of the Rassemblement Français Party, felt that they had been betrayed. They no longer held the parity of vote in the Council of Ministers and the control of the executive was lost. In the budgetary assembly, although the numbers of French and Tunisians were equal, there was no certainty that the French Socialists or trade unionists might not gain some seats in the French Assembly and vote with the Arabs.

6. Both sides complained that they had not been consulted. The speed with which M. Voizard instituted the reforms had faced them with a *fait accompli* and left them unable either to work up opposition locally or to bring their influence to bear in Paris.

7. It is as yet too early to say how the situation will turn. The early confidence of the Residency that the reforms would be accepted because they had the support of the Bey seems to have been shaken somewhat by the manifestos of the various trade unions and the Neo Destour, and more seriously perhaps by the French " Rassemblement " Party communiqué exhorting the French in Tunisia not to despair for " all is not yet lost." It is also rumoured that Mzali, the President of the Council, is having some difficulty in keeping some of his Tunisian colleagues from resigning. In the Resident-General's favour is the fact that the reforms are now law. He has apparently succeeded in breaking the Bey's friendship with the Neo Destour, whose leaders are to some extent discouraged by the failure of their appeal to the United Nations and are said to have little desire to resort once more to a campaign of violence. They may, however, have some difficulty in restraining the young hotheads in the party. It remains to be seen whether they will take part in the forthcoming elections. The Residency hope is that the Neo Destour will put up candidates for the Assembly though an entirely passive attitude would serve as well.

8. The Resident-General and the President of the Council are apparently prepared to fight for their programme. M. Voizard in a speech on March 8 at a lunch inaugurating " La Quinzaine d'Indochine " made the point that the reforms were the result of long and patient negotiation and stressed the improvement in the local political atmosphere as compared with the last two years. He issued a warning against listening to the extremist opponents of the reforms who said on one hand that France had sold the pass and on the other that she was legalising co-sovereignty or even annexation and he appealed for confidence and Franco-Tunisian co-operation in working for the progress of the country. M. Voizard followed up this speech which enraged the Rassemblés by putting them in the same category as the Neo Destour, whom they regard as the instigators of the campaign of assassination in 1952 and 1953, by giving an interview to the local correspondant of *Le Monde* in which he once more stressed that a great step towards internal self-government for the Tunisians had been made and said that henceforth the part of the Resident-General in Tunis would seem to be one of orientation, advice and persuasion. Mzali held a Press conference on March 10 and appears to have dealt successfully with the points put to him mainly by the Arab pressmen.

9. The other dangerous issue—the question of recruitment into the public service—a matter of real importance to the educated Tunisian who can find few other openings, and of perhaps even greater interest to the French civil servant, has been shelved and will be brought up for consideration by the Assembly when it has been formed.

10. In practice perhaps the outcome will depend to a large extent on this year's rainfall, for encouraged by the plentiful autumn rains the sowings of cereals have been much more extensive than usual and the crop is now endangered by drought in the centre and south. A plentiful harvest this year would ease the poverty of the Tunisian fellahs and divert attention from politics.

11. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Minister, Tripoli, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

JF 1015/19 No. 32

COMPILATION OF ELECTORAL ROLLS FOR THE NEW TUNISIAN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATION

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received March 29)

(No. 23. Restricted) *Tunis, March 25, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to forward a copy of the regulations(1) published on the 19th of March governing the compilation of electoral rolls for the new Tunisian Consultative Assembly and the French Representative Delegation which form part of the constitutional reforms reported in my despatch No. 21 of the 12th of March, 1954.

2. As laid down in the decree of the 4th of March, the Tunisian Consultative Assembly will be chosen by indirect election. The electors are all male Tunisians (except military personnel) over 25 years of age who have not been condemned to a prison sentence of over three months; the candidates must be drawn from amongst electors aged 30 or over who are not career civil or municipal servants. With the publication of the regulations governing the compilation of the rolls, the machinery for setting up the Consultative Assembly is complete and only the Beylical decree fixing the dates of the polling days for choosing the selectors and electing the candidates now remains to be issued. The compilation of the new electoral rolls is expected to take about two months.

3. As regards the French Delegation matters are not so far advanced; the present regulation establishes that the electoral rolls shall include all French men and women over 21 who are in possession of their civil rights and have been resident in Tunisia for at least two years on the 31st of December in the election year. Criminals, bankrupts and persons who have received various types of sentence have no vote. Civil and municipal servants and military personnel are not required to comply with the resident condition. Naturalised Frenchmen who have not done their military service can only be put on the electoral list two years after the date of their naturalisation. The regulations governing the size of constituencies, the number of representatives per constituency, the conditions governing the eligibility of candidates and the method of election still remain to be issued.

4. So far the main criticism of the regulations governing the Consultative Assembly has come from the Nationalists who feel that the method of indirect election would allow the French to control the candidates who present themselves. They also complain that the fixing of the age of electors at 25 and of candidates at 30 has defranchised the youth of the country, amongst whom no doubt considerable numbers of their supporters are to be found. They consider it unjust

(1) Not printed.

that no distinction has been drawn between sentences for crime and those for political offences, and suggest that this is directed against the Nationalists and trade unionists sentenced by French military courts. I have as yet seen no comment on the fact that if Tunisian soldiers have no vote, Tunisian bankrupts have.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Minister, Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

JF 1013/8 No. 33

REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED APRIL 30, 1954

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden (Received May 6)

(No. 29. Restricted) *Tunis, April 30, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 30th of April, 1954.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Minister at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.
A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

Political Review of Events in Tunisia

No. 2 for the Period February 1 to April 30, 1954

The principal event of the period was the sealing on the 4th of March of decrees promulgating a series of constitutional reforms. There has been a recrudescence of banditry in the Centre and South. The economic position of the country shows no improvement.

The Resident-General

The good relations between the residency and the palace were maintained. M. Voizard visited Paris twice during the period, once in order to obtain the French Government's agreement to the reforms which he had negotiated with the Bey and again at the end of April when he succeeded in gaining admission to the French market of the Tunisian grain surplus but failed to make any progress in the matter of the disposal of Habib Bourguiba. The Resident-General continued to tour the Regency and missed no opportunity of stressing the need for Franco-Tunisian co-operation in tackling the country's economic problems.

The Tunisian Government

The Resident-General returned from Paris on the 1st of March with instructions to continue his negotiations with the Bey and to conclude an agreement about the proposed reforms. On the 2nd of March the Baccouche caretaker Ministry was replaced by a Government headed by Mohamed Salah Mzali, who had been the Bey's representative for much of the negotiation of the reforms. The former Ministers were suitably compensated financially and have disappeared from the political scene. The new Ministry which was formed at the request of the Bey contained in Mzali, Saadallah and Ben Salem three of the members of the Chenik Government, which brought the Tunisian question before the United Nations. The Minister of Agriculture, Abdelkader Belkhodja, is one of the more energetic and statesmanlike Tunisians. The remaining four Ministers are nonentities. After a rather shaky start when the Neo Destour tried to detach one if not two of the Ministers, the Government settled down and stood up well to the criticism of the reforms for which they were held in part responsible, and to the Nationalist and student outcry about the Zitouna incident. It is said that the Prime Minister keeps a detailed control of his colleagues and the change in the positions of the Prime Minister and the Secretary-General will no doubt have caused some friction.

The Reforms

The decrees instituting the constitutional reforms were sealed by the Bey on the 4th of March four days after the Resident-General's return from Paris with authority to continue and conclude his negotiations with the Bey. (Tunis depatches Nos. 21 and 23.)

The reforms, briefly summarised, provide for a Tunisian Government consisting of a council of eight Tunisian Ministers (Prime Minister and President of the Council, Muslim Institutions, Agriculture, Public Health, Justice, Labour and Housing) and four permanent French members (Secretary-General and the Directors of Finance, Education and Public Works). The French Director of Postal Services may attend the council when the affairs of his department are under discussion. The powers of the Prime Minister are increased at the expense of those of the Secretary-General who ceases to be the administrative head of the Government and becomes subordinate to the Prime Minister. A Consultative Assembly of forty-five Tunisian members aged over 30 elected in two stages by all male Tunisians over 25 must be consulted about all legislation of an economic or social character. For budget matters the Assembly will also comprise the members of the French Delegation (forty-two delegates elected by direct universal adult suffrage) and by nineteen members (eight Tunisian and eleven French) chosen from the French and Tunisian Economic Chambers. The local government councils will also be strengthened by the addition of the locally-elected members of the Tunisian Assembly, the French Delegation and the Economic Chambers. The members of all these assemblies are elected for nine years but one-third of the Assembly is to be renewed every three years.

The Reaction to the Reforms

The reforms have been severely and extensively criticised by the French community and the Tunisians alike. The French object to the abandonment of equal French and Tunisian representation in the Council of Ministers and to the weakening of the position of the Secretary-General who might at some future date conceivably be a Tunisian. The Tunisians whose criticisms have been much more detailed, sometimes childishly so, hold that the French have really given up nothing and that in some ways the reforms are even less acceptable than those proposed by de Hauteclocque in 1952. They point out that the French have maintained their hold on the key Ministries of Finance, Education, Public Works and Postal Services and they doubt whether the Secretary-General has in practice lost any of his power. Furthermore the system of Contrôleurs Civils and the French direction of security forces have not been touched. As regards the Assembly the age qualifications for members and electors has disfranchised those under 25 who form a large part of the Tunisian population from which Nationalist support is mainly drawn. The setting up of a French-elected delegation which is to have an equal say in the budget is regarded as the essence of co-sovereignty.

A committee of fifteen prominent Tunisians mainly of Destourian or trade union affiliations has published a detailed criticism of the reforms and sent a copy

to the Bey, the Residence and the French Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The French authorities appear to be unmoved by these criticisms. They argue that a programme of reforms which was received with enthusiasm by either Nationalists or Colons would have been doomed to failure. They admit that some adjustments may be necessary in due course but no changes will be made until the new machine is fully "run in" and until the elections have been held which cannot be before the end of June owing to Ramadan and may not be until October when the summer is over. The reforms were the result of negotiation with the Bey and have his support. The Bey himself requested the change of Ministry and appointed the new team. The legality of the reforms is not in question and so long as the residency and the palace remain on good terms the Tunisian Opposition cannot justifiably claim that the whole country is on its side as it did in 1952 when the de Hauteclocque reforms were imposed on the Bey. The residency feel, too, that the Tunisians are tired of civil commotion and that provided the economic situation improves there is a possibility that the influence of the extremists among the Neo Destour may still further decline. The French community appear to be willing to await developments and until a move is made to reopen the question of increasing the percentage of Tunisians in the public service they have no very serious practical grievance.

The Elections

The decrees governing the method of election to the French and Tunisian Assemblies have been issued but no date has yet been fixed. The French Socialists complain that election by proportional representation has given way to voting for a party list and they fear that the minority groups stand less chance of being represented in consequence. The Neo Destour issued a communiqué setting forth the conditions on which they would take part in the elections, the main points being the release of Habib Bourguiba and the admission to the vote of all Tunisians aged over 21. This has been taken in general as an indication that the Neo Destour intend to contest the elections as they have avoided any statement of intention to abstain or to boycott them.

Public Order

The calm which followed the Bey's appeal in September 1953 has been maintained except for an incident in Tunis when students of the Zitouna University wishing to bring grievances to the notice of the Government, endeavoured to invade the Government offices and were repulsed with the loss of three lives. There was also a recrudescence of banditry in the Centre and South where isolated farmers were robbed, a train was held up with loss of life and several Tunisians said to be giving information about the bandits movements were murdered. The security forces had two encounters with bands of the fellagahs who described themselves as the "Tunisian Army of Liberation"; there were casualties on both sides but the majority of the bandits succeeded in escaping capture. It is not clear whether there is any link between the Tunisian Army of Liberation and the Neo Destour. The French authorities who desire to maintain the atmosphere of détente as far as possible have emphasised that banditry is endemic in the Sahel and the South.

There has been continued agitation in the Arab Press about the conditions in the local prisons which are admittedly overcrowded. There have been escapes from Tunis civil prison and from Porto Farina and the head of the prison service has been retired. The appointment of a French police officer in his place has caused further indignation in the Arab Press.

The military courts continue to pass severe sentences in cases arising out of the incidents at the beginning of 1952. There have been protests in the Arab Press as well as in Left-wing papers in France about the execution of the men involved in the murder of the Bey du Camp and Moknine incidents.

Habib Bourguiba

Bourguiba remains in detention at La Galite and the Arab Press as well as the Left-wing papers in France continue to press for his release or transfer to France. On his return from Paris on the 22nd of April the Resident-General, with the intention of suggesting that there were more important problems, remarked to the Press that Bourguiba appeared to find little sympathy in Paris. The remark aroused indignation in the Arab Press.

Neo Destour

There have been changes in the party organisation and Hedi Nouira has resigned the secretaryship on grounds of ill health. The Arab Press has reported fully on the visit of Salah ben Youssef and Taieb Slim to India and East Asia. Their reception in Indonesia is reported as being particularly cordial.

Press

El Akbar, the Neo Destour paper, was suspended for fifteen days for false and tendentious reporting of the Zitouna incident and subsequently two issues were seized by the police. The editor, who failed to answer a subpoena to give evidence, suspended publication temporarily at the end of April.

The student paper, *Ez Zitouna*, was suspended for three months.

Sawt el Ouma, a Communist weekly, started publication at the end of January.

Visits

The visit of Admiral Fechteler to Tunis was expected to be the signal for anti-American demonstrations and unusual police precautions were taken. The visit was passed off quite quietly.

JF 1015/25 No. 34

PUBLICATION BY THE RESIDENT-GENERAL AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE METHOD OF ELECTION TO THE FRENCH DELEGATION AND TO THE TUNISIAN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received May 10)

(No. 33. Restricted) *Tunis, May 6, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Resident-General and the President of the Council published regulations on the 26th of April governing the method of election to the French Delegation and to the Tunisian Consultative Assembly. The texts of these regulations(1) are enclosed.

2. Candidates for election to the French Delegation must be over 25 years of age and must have been resident in their constituency for two years unless during the previous five years they had represented the constituency on an elected body, such as the Grand Conseil or a Municipal Council. The method of election is the " scrutin de liste " and candidates are elected by simple majority. The voters have the right to delete names from a list and to substitute the names of other candidates up to the number of vacant seats. The polling is under the control of a committee of three electors nominated by the Contrôleur Civil who is responsible for sending the election returns to the Resident-General.

3. The decrees of the 4th of March (Tunis despatch No. 21) which laid down the principal conditions governing the method of indirect election and the eligibility of electors and candidates to the Tunisian Assembly also prescribed an age qualification of 25 for electors and 30 for candidates. For the benefit of illiterate voters each elector will be allocated a symbol to be chosen in public by lot and the voter in each cheikhat will then put into an envelope slips showing the name and symbol of the five candidates for whom he wishes to vote. The election will then be supervised by a committee composed of the Cheikh and two electors nominated by the Caid. At the second stage, the election of two members of the Assembly for each constituency the election will be supervised by a committee composed of the Caid, three electors and a notary nominated by him. As laid down in the decree of the 4th of March, only candidates obtaining a majority of the votes cast are elected at the first round of voting. At the second round the candidates are elected by simple majority of votes.

(1) Not printed.

4. These decrees have been criticised by the local French Socialists on the ground that the " scrutin de liste " gives less chance to the minority groups, like the Socialists, to gain seats than did the proportional representation system under which the Grand Conseil elections were held. The great majority of the French community in Tunisia belongs to the Rassemblement Français and there is no likelihood that attention will be paid to the complaints of the minority parties.

5. The Arab Press takes the opportunity to repeat its criticism of the reforms in general and stresses in particular the difference drawn between French who vote at 21 years of age and may become members of the French Delegation at 25 and the Tunisians who vote at 25 and cannot become members of the Consultative Assembly until 30. The composition of the electoral supervising committees is also criticised; for the French the Contrôleur Civil nominates three electors, while for the Tunisians the Caid or Cheikh is the president of the committee. *As Sabah*, the neo-Destour paper, comments that the zeal of the Caids and Cheikhs to please the Administration is as well known as the methods they employ. They suggest the whole system has been arranged to permit the Administration to control the elections both through the supervisory committee and through the system of indirect election.

6. The date of the elections has not yet been announced.

7. I have sent a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, Her Majesty's Minister at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers and Rabat, and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

JF 1018/31 No. 35

HOSTILE RECEPTION OF THE RESIDENT-GENERAL

Her Majesty's Consul-General to Mr. Eden. (Received May 31)

(No. 17. Confidential) *Tunis, May 31, 1954.*

(Telegraphic)

My letter of May 29 to Bromley.

The Resident-General, who was mobbed on arrival from Paris by angry Colons calling for his resignation and return to Monaco, broadcast firm statement to-day that order would be restored. He described the steps he had taken as long ago as last October to put down banditry, and outlined measures to be taken which include the reinstatement of troops from Algeria, calling out of police reserves, arming of the Colons and curfew if necessary. He emphasised that French presence here would continue.

2. Meeting of French and Tunisian notables has been called by the Bey for this afternoon.

3. Unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister has been followed by letters addressed by Lassoued, Head of the so-called Army of Liberation, to the Director of Education, the French Mayor of Tunis and the former French President of the Grand Council, informing them that they will be assassinated.

4. The situation in the towns remains calm. Bandits attacked trains in the south and a car in the north last night. Confidence of the French in the Resident-General has been badly shaken. Nationalists have opposed him openly since the publication of the March reforms.

JF 1013/2 No. 36

REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED JULY 31, 1954

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (*Received August 10*)

(No. 52. Restricted) *Tunis,*
Sir, *August 4, 1954.*

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended July 31, 1954.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA

No. 3 for the period May 1 to July 31, 1954

Up to the last days of July the period was an unhappy one for Tunisia. Opposition to the March 4 reforms led to civil unrest and a general atmosphere of uncertainty and fear which the measures taken by the authorities and large reinforcements of troops failed to dispel. The Mzali Government resigned and was replaced by an interim Ministry of senior officials.

On July 31 it was announced that General Boyer de Latour du Moulin had been appointed Resident-General in place of M. Voizard. M. Mendès-France, accompanied by M. Fouchet and Marshal Juin, arrived by air to explain personally to the Bey that the French Government had decided to recognise the sovereignty and internal autonomy of Tunisia subject to certain conditions.

The Resident-General

M. Voizard, who came to Tunisia in September 1953 with the expressed intention of working in Tunis for a settlement of the Tunisian problem in an atmosphere of calm and restored order, saw the final rejection of his work. The reforms of March 4 which he negotiated with the Bey were opposed by the Nationalists as giving legal sanction to Franco-Tunisian co-sovereignty which was unacceptable to them, and by the French because they conceded too much. Never very popular with the French community who thought him pro-Arab and nicknamed him " Mohammed Voizard " he was twice mobbed and booed by angry crowds; once on his return from Paris on May 29 after the Kef murders and again at the funeral on July 12 of the victims of the Ferryville shooting. His appeals for calm, and his promises that the guilty would be impartially punished " cost what it may " had little effect, the French considering that firmer measures of repression were called for and the Tunisians pointing out that some of the murders were the work of French counter-terrorists and in any case no arrests were ever made. In fairness to M. Voizard it should be said that he took over a bad situation and he was able to restore calm for six months. His requests for troop reinforcements to deal with the fellagas could not be met at once owing to French commitments in Indo-China.

At the celebration at the end of Ramadan during which further measures of clemency had been taken M. Voizard was given the Ahed el Ahman, one of the highest Tunisian decorations, and on his departure from office his promotion to Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour was announced.

General de Latour du Moulin, who was promoted to Général de Corps d'Armée on July 29, took office as Resident-General on the last day of July. He retained his position as Commander-in-Chief of French Forces in Tunisia.

The Palace

The Bey remained on good terms with the Residency. On May 31 he called a meeting of thirteen French and sixteen Tunisian professional, commercial and trade union leaders whom he requested to enlist their organisations in support of the maintenance of order and calm. He declined to accede to the French request to influence the Mzali Ministry to remain in office saying that they were his friends and he could not be the cause of their deaths by assassination. He did, however, cause the Ministry to put through the 1954–55 budget before accepting their resignation on July 5. The Residency announced that he had agreed that representative Tunisians should go to Paris for consultation with the Mendès-France Government at the end of July. Apart from receiving local authorities and notables for the Aid es Seghir at the end of Ramadan the Bey remained in seclusion.

On July 31 he received M. Mendès-France, President of the Council of Ministers, M. Fouchet, Minister for Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs, Marshal Juin and the new Resident-General, General de Latour du Moulin. M. Mendès-France delivered a message from the French Government promising internal autonomy to Tunisia, subject to certain guarantees of French interests and the restoration of public order. The Bey welcomed the proposal and invested M. Mendès-France with the Grand Cordon of the Ahed el Ahman and M. Fouchet with the Grand Cordon of the Nicham Iftikar.

On June 20 M. Mendès-France on taking office transferred the administration of Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to a newly-created Ministry of Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs under M. Christian Fouchet.

The Tunisian Government

The Mzali Ministry which had expected to be hailed as the popular negotiators of the March 4 reforms found not only that the reforms roused opposition from French and Tunisians alike but that they were themselves threatened with assassination as part of the campaign of increasing civil unrest. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the Prime Minister on May 29. The Government feared that it would be called on to agree to measures of repression to restore order and on June 15 headed by Saadallah, Minister for Muslim Institutions, they resigned but agreed to continue to discharge the daily business of Government until the return of the Resident-General from Paris on July 1.

A caretaker Ministry of senior officials under the chairmanship of tne Secretary-General was appointed on July 5 and was still in office at the end of the month when it was expected that Azziz Djellouli or Tahar ben Ammar would form a Government to negotiate the new conventions with the French authorities.

The Reforms of March 4

By mid-May the decrees setting up the machinery for holding elections to the Tunisian Consultative Assembly, the French Delegation and the Economic Chambers had been issued. Elections for the Tunisian and French Economic Chambers were held in mid-June and of the restricted electorate about 50 per cent. voted.

By the middle of July the March reforms were regarded as no longer applicable in practice as far as the provisions creating Consultative Assemblies were concerned.

Mendès-France Plan for Tunisia

On July 30 it was announced that the French Government intended to give a new impulsion to Franco-Tunisian relations, and on July 31 M. Mendès-France, accompanied by M. Fouchet and Marshal Juin, flew to Tunis in order to explain his plan personally to the Bey.

In his message M. Mendè-France stated that the French Government considered that the Tunisians had reached the stage at which they should manage their own internal affairs. Subject to the Bey's agreement, a new Tunisian Government should be appointed to negotiate conventions with the French which would define the rights and obligations of both parties. It was in the common

interest that the French presence in Tunisia should remain and that France should remain responsible for the defence and foreign representation of the two countries in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Bardo. The rights of the French settlers should be guaranteed and they should have their own assembly and have the means of enforcing the terms of the Franco-Tunisian conventions through arbitral procedure. With the conclusion of the conventions Tunisian internal autonomy would be an accomplished fact and the Bey might consider that some internal constitutional reform would then be appropriate. First of all public order must be restored, and to put an end to terrorism and violence France was prepared to send reinforcements and, if need be, to enforce stern measures.

This message was well received by the Bey, by the Neo Destour and by the Tunisians generally. The French Socialists were also in favour of the proposals. The representatives of the colons, on the other hand, held that they had been abandoned and hoped that the French Parliament would not agree to the Government's plan.

Public Order

During the period under review civil unrest mounted steadily throughout the country. The fellagas, who called themselves the "Army of Liberation," were active in the country districts, particularly in the Kef area, near Bizerta and in the Sahel. In the towns early in June a campaign was started to prevent Moslems from smoking and to dissuade Moslem women from working for the French. At the end of May there began a series of assassinations and counter-assassinations and of machine-gun attacks on cafés and in the streets which terrorised the towns to the extent that people refused to leave their houses at night and the cafés and cinemas were practically empty after dusk.

The Resident-General at first maintained that the fellagas were ordinary bandits and that banditry was endemic in Tunisia. When five colons were murdered at Le Kef (itself probably an act of reprisal) he was forced to take stronger measures and announced on June 1 that he had sent for reinforcements of troops which would be deployed in the countryside and would provide garrisons for the farms, that reserves were to be recalled and a home guard set up, arms issued to the colons and a curfew imposed if necessary. In order to safeguard the harvesters a pooling arrangement for labour and machines was made and the crops were successfully got in under military guard. In the towns military and police patrols were instituted and all suspicious persons were rounded up and sent back to their districts. A fairly extensive curfew was imposed in the country districts. As soon as M. Mendès-France had the Indo-China situation in hand much larger reinforcements began to arrive in Tunisia.

In the three months ending July 20 there were about 130 incidents resulting in 140 civilian casualties and eighty fellagas had been disposed of. Of the 140 civilians seventy were killed (twenty-six Europeans) and seventy wounded (about thirty Europeans), fifty-three fellagas had been killed and twenty-nine taken prisoner. Besides this, twenty men of the security forces had been killed, forty wounded and six missing. In the last ten days of July five fellagas, four French and eight Tunisians were killed.

It was announced at the end of July that the 11th and 14th Divisions would be moved to Tunisia which would bring the strength of the forces up to three divisions excluding Gardes Mobiles Gendarmerie and Police.

French Reactions

The fellaga activities alarmed the settlers who felt themselves to be unprotected and blamed the Resident-General for having agreed to the release on June 16 of a further 450 political prisoners and to the transfer of Bourguiba to the Ile de Groix. After the murders at Kef there was something of a panic amongst the colons of that region, and it was they who were responsible for mobbing the Resident-General at the airport on May 29. To retrieve the impression left by that rather disgraceful incident and also to show its strength the Rassemblement Party, against the wishes of the Resident-General, arranged a solemn march to the tomb of the unknown soldier on June 5. The demonstration was heavily policed and passed off without incident.

The Rassemblement accused the Neo Destour of being responsible for the terrorists and demanded sterner measures against them. They feared that the Mendès-France Government would give further concessions to the Tunisians and they began intensive lobbying in Paris.

On July 9 thirty-nine Frenchmen resident in Tunis, mainly teaching professional men and retired officials, sent a letter to Mendès-France suggesting that discussions would be more likely to safeguard French interests in Tunisia than the previous policy of repression. The Rassemblement suggested that this letter was composed by the Communists and, indeed, there were some fellow-travellers amongst the signatories.

On July 12 the Catholic Archbishop, together with representatives of the Protestant, Greek and Orthodox Churches, issued an appeal for co-operation and condemning reprisals.

Neo Destour and Habib Bourguiba

Habib Bourguiba was transferred on May 21 from the Ile de la Galite to the Ile de Groix (Morbihan) where he was at liberty to receive visits and to communicate freely. In spite of this improvement the Neo Destour called a strike of the shopkeepers in Tunisia as a sign of mourning. On July 17 Bourguiba was transferred to the Chateau de la Ferté, near Montargis, where he took part in the consultations preceding Mendès-France's home rule proposal.

On June 5 the Neo Destour Political Bureau disclaimed responsibility for the recrudescence of violence in a statement demanding an autonomous Tunisian Government offering safeguards for French interests but without French participation.

The members of the Neo Destour Political Bureau were placed under house arrest on June 26, but were released in the first days of August.

Labour

May 1 processions were forbidden but meetings were allowed. There were some minor strikes amongst the dockers and the mine workers. At the general meeting of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens, which was attended by Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., Ahmed ben Salah was elected secretary-general in place of Boudali who succeeded Farhat Hached.

Maurice Nizard, the secretary of the Communist Party, who had been under arrest since 1952 in the south was released but was rearrested in Tunis, a town which was forbidden to him. He was in poor health.

Budget

On July 1 a provisional annual budget was sealed by the Bey subject to confirmation by the Budgetary Assembly. Revenue was estimated at 39·5 milliard francs and expenditure at 42 milliard francs, a deficit of 2·5 milliard francs.

Press

Tunisie-France and other papers took up the cry that the fellagas were being trained in Libya, and suggested that the British were turning a blind eye to these anti-French activities.

Visits

Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean, visited Bizerta in H.M.S. *Surprise* from July 5 to 8 accompanied by Lady Mountbatten and his two daughters. Lord Mountbatten was received by the Bey and exchanged calls with the Resident-General. He visited Dougga, Kairouan and Sousse.

JF 1015/90 No. 37

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received August 14)

(No. 56. Unclassified) *Tunis, August 10, 1954.*

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 49 of the 2nd of August, 1954, concerning the proposals made by the French Government to give home rule to Tunisia, and to report that His Highness the Bey has appointed a new Tunisian ministry which took office on the 8th of August.

2. The new Government is constituted as follows:—

Prime Minister, President of the Council of Ministers and in charge of the Ministry of Moslem Institutions—Tahar ben Ammar.

Minister of State—Mongi Slim.
Minister of State—Azziz Djellouli.
Minister of State—Mohammed Masmoudi.
Minister of Housing and Town Planning—Naceur ben Said.
Minister of Agriculture—Ali bel Hadj.
Minister of Labour—Chadli Rhaim.
Minister of Commerce—Hedi Nouira.
Minister of Tunisian Justice—Sadok Mokkadem.
Minister of Health—Tahar Zaouche.

The posts of Secretary-General to the Tunisian Government and Director of Finance, Education, Public Works and Postal Services will continue to be held by French officials pending the conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian agreements defining the rights and responsibilities of France and Tunisia under the new system. It was intended that eleven Tunisian Ministers would be appointed, three Ministers without portfolio as well as the eight departmental ministers. The Prime Minister has taken charge himself of Moslem Affairs and reduced the number of departmental ministers to seven. Brief notes on the ministers are enclosed with this despatch.

3. Five of the new ministers are regarded as Independents (Tahar ben Ammar, Naceur ben Said, Ali bel Hadj, Azziz Djellouli and Tahar Zaouche), three are members of the Neo Destour (Mongi Slim, Sadok Mokkadem and Mohammed Masmoudi) and a fourth (Hedi Nouira) recently resigned his post as Secretary of the Neo Destour. The tenth member of the new team, Chadli Rhaim, is a Socialist and trade unionist. There was difficulty over the selection of an eleventh minister. Tahar ben Ammar, to whom the Bey gave the task of forming a new Government on the 2nd of August, at first suggested Fethi Zouhir, a Neo Destourian, but five Neo Destour members of the Government was not acceptable to the French. It proved impossible to find a compromise candidate and on the 7th of August it was decided to appoint ten ministers only for the time being. It is assumed that the Ministers of State (Mongi Slim, Azziz Djellouli and Mohammed Masmoudi) will be charged with negotiating the new conventions with the French).

4. After the ceremony of investiture at the palace of His Highness the Bey, the new ministers called on the Resident General. Cordial speeches were exchanged, both Resident General and Prime Minister announcing their intention. to work for the realisation of the principles enunciated by M. Mendès-France.

5. The new Resident General, Général de Corps d'Armée Boyer de Latour du Moulin, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Tunisian Government by Beylical decree dated the 5th of August, 1954.

6. A copy of this despatch has been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers and Rabat and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

TUNISIAN GOVERNMENT OF TAHAR BEN AMMAR INSTALLED AUGUST 8, 1954

Tahar ben Ammar. Prime Minister, President of the Council of Ministers and in charge of the Ministry of Moslem Institutions.

Born 1889 in Tunis. Educated at Lycée Carnot, Tunis. Agriculturalist, a landowner, President of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture, President of the Grand Conseil. One of the Bey's Committee of 40 in August 1952. One of the signatories of the protest against the March 4 Reforms. Has friends amongst the Mouvement du Rassemblement Populaire. Generally regarded as a Conservative and a moderate Nationalist.

Mongi Slim. Minister of State.

Born Tunis, September 15, 1908, of a bourgeois family. Educated in Tunis and Paris. Lawyer. Secretary of the Neo Destour since 1937. Arrested in April 1938 and detained until 1942 when the Germans occupied the South of France. Went to Rome and returned to Tunis in 1943. Elected Director of the Party in 1945. Arrested in 1952 and detained in the south until January 1954. Under house arrest from May 28 to August 2, 1954.

Mohammed El Azziz Djellouli. Minister of State.

Born at Kebili about 1889 of a tent-dwelling family. Educated in Tunis and at Saint Cyr and Saumur. Served in the Spahis in 1914/18 war. Caid. Served in all the posts in the southern territories and from 1941 to 1947 at Sfax. Sheep and camel breeder. Owns large palm plantation at Kebili.

Mohammed Masmoudi. Minister of State.

Born May 29, 1923, at Monastir. Educated at College Sadiki and Sorbonne where he obtained the Licence ès Lettres and Diplôme des Sciences Politiques. Permanent delegate of Neo Destour in Paris since 1949. Journalist. Member of the executive committee of the People's Congress against Colonialism and of the International Confederation of Moral Rearmament at Caux.

Naceur ben Said. Minister of Housing and Town Planning.

Born December 14, 1896, a member of one of the old Tunisian administrative families. Educated at Lycée Carnot and Algiers law school. Entered Caidal service in 1925 and served at Gabès, Bizerta, Sousse and Sfax where he resigned in 1940 after the Armistice. Made Cheikh el Medina in 1942 by Moncef Bey and Minister of Habous in 1943. Has lived in retirement since the deposition of Moncef Bey in May 1943.

Ali bel Hadj. Minister of Agriculture.

Born Zarzis January 20, 1895. Educated at Medjez el Bab and College Sadiki, Tunis. 1913–29 secretary/interpreter of contrôle civil at Le Kef and Teboursouk. Resigned to take up farming. Member of the Chamber of Agriculture since 1932. First Vice-President. Member of Grand Conseil 1934 where he frequently served as Rapporteur Général du Budget and President of the Finance and Economic Affairs Committee.

Chadli Rhaim. Minister of Labour.

Born at Béja in 1910. Educated at Tunis and worked as agriculturalist (owns large farm near Béja). Founded the Agricultural Workers' Trade Union in 1936. Arrested in 1938 and condemned by military court to 6 months' imprisonment and a fine for articles written for Tunis Socialist. Elected to Grand Conseil in 1945. President of the Cultural Affairs Committee. A militant Socialist since 1928. Member of the directing committee of the Section Française d'International Ouvrière. Recently elected member of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture.

Hedi Nouira. Minister of Commerce.

Born April 6, 1911, at Monastir. Educated at Sousse and studied law in Paris where he was delegate of the Neo Destour. Joined the Tunis bar in 1937 and was elected secretary of the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (C.G.T.T.) which later became the U.G.T.T. Arrested in 1938 and transferred to France where he was liberated along with the other Neo Destourians in 1942 by the Germans. Returned to Tunis in 1943. Arrested in April 1952 and detained in Remada and Djerba but released in September 1952. Rearrested in March 1953 but soon conditionally released and went to Paris. Resigned the position of Assistant Secretary General of the Neo Destour in 1954 owing to " reasons of health." An intellectual and a moderate amongst the Neo Destourians.

Sadok Mokkadem. Minister of Tunisian Justice.

Born 1915 in Tunis. Educated in Tunis at Lycée Carnot. Is a Doctor of Médecine of Paris where he became president of the Association of North African Students. Assistant at the Sadiki Hospital. Member of the Neo Destour political bureau. In August 1952 he was a member of the Bey's Committee of 40. Arrested in December 1952 and released in November 1953.

Tahar Zaouche. Minister of Health.

Born September 6, 1904, in Tunis. Educated at Lycée Carnot and Medical School in Paris. Practised in Tunis since 1933 and is head of the throat clinic at the Hospital de la Libération. President of the Syndicat des Médecins Tunisiens.

JF 1013/15 No. 38

POLITICAL REVIEW FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1954

Mr. Williams to Sir Anthony Eden. (*Received November 2*)

(No. 69. Restricted) *Tunis,*
Sir, *October 30, 1954.*

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 31st of October, 1954.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York and to the Commander in Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA

No. 4 for the Period August 1 to October 31, 1954

The main events have been the Franco-Tunisian negotiations arising out of Mendès-France's promise to grant internal autonomy to Tunisia and the campaign to suppress the outlaws. The economic situation of the country has not improved greatly and the Government was concerned about rising unemployment.

The Resident General

General de Latour, who retains his position of Commander in Chief of Troops in Tunisia, has spent a good deal of his time touring the country. He was enthusiastically received though the crowds, led by the Neo Destourians, were cheering mainly for Bourguiba. He has also made three visits to Paris in August and September, and again at the end of October. On his return from Paris in September he broadcast and gave a Press conference, stressing that the Franco-Tunisian negotiations were progressing and that restoration of order must come before the lifting of the state of siege in Tunisia. The Resident General published early in August an offer of pardon to those fellagas who surrendered with their arms; he added that those who had been involved in criminal acts would be brought to trial. There was little response to this offer which was well publicised.

General de Latour was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Tunisian Government on August 5.

The Minister Delegate, M. de Boisseson, was transferred in August and replaced by M. Roger Seydoux, recently French minister in charge of information matters in Washington.

The Palace

On August 3 the Bey issued an appeal for calm.

After the appointment of the Tahar ben Ammar ministry, which contains four Neo Destourians, and under the shadow of further constitutional reform once internal autonomy had been achieved the Bey seemed at first to retire further into the background. His appearance at three official functions, where he was given an enthusiastic welcome by the crowds, may have been intended to remind the nationalists that he is not without influence in the country. He was said to have been taken aback by Mendès-France's proposals and to have shown little enthusiasm for the constitutional reform which he himself had promised in the summer of 1951. He appears to be on good terms with the new Resident General.

The Tunisian Government

After some initial difficulty over the composition of his ministry, Tahar ben Ammar took office on August 8. The Government was composed of ten Tunisian ministers as well as the four French Directors and the Secretary-General, thus increasing the number of Tunisians by two. The Prime Minister took charge also

of the Ministry of Muslim Institutions, to which he added the Ministry of Agriculture when the Minister, Ali bel Hadj, died on September 7. Of the ten Tunisians originally appointed four were Neo Destourians, five were ostensibly Independents and the tenth was a Socialist.

The Prime Minister announced on August 12 that the Government's programme would be in internal affairs to deal with unemployment and to increase production and industrialisation, in external matters to conclude conventions with France within three months and thereafter to proceed to a general election and to constitutional reforms based on the Bey's declaration of May 15, 1951.

The Government appears to have been at pains to reassure the Tunisian Jewish community, who viewed the future with an apprehension which was increased by an announcement by a Jewish organisation in the United States of a plan to evacuate all Jews from North Africa to Israel. Tahar ben Ammar lost no opportunity to repeat that the Tunisian Government would not discriminate between Jew and Moslem who had equal rights and equal duties.

On October 20 the Government published a statement condemning all individual terrorist acts. It has so far made no public statement about the fellagas.

In order to deal with growing unemployment in Tunisia the Government decided early in October to open workshops (chantiers) for carrying out useful public works. They also decided to distribute 4,000 kilos of bread daily to the families of the needy.

Franco-Tunisian Negotiations

The negotiations of agreements covering the guarantees of French rights in Tunisia, finance, cultural matters, judicial affairs, technical assistance and the public service under home rule in Tunisia were officially opened by the Bey in Tunis on September 4. The talks were then continued in France. Tunisia was represented by three Ministers of State, Mongi Slim, Azziz Dejellouli and Mohamed Masmoudi and by a number of experts including Albert Bessis, a Jewish lawyer. During the period two communiqués were issued stating that the talks were progressing but it was evident that progress was very slow and the position was not improved by the activities of the fellagas and the French efforts to suppress them and by occasional terrorist incidents in the towns. The Tunisian delegates kept in close touch with Bourguiba and with Salah ben Youssef, who appear to have had almost as much say as the Tunisian Government. Both French and Tunisians complained that the others were not properly prepared for the detailed talks, although agreement in principle had been reached fairly easily. The Tunisians, according to the French, were apt to be very suspicious of any concession offered to them.

The Tunisian Government said that it hoped the agreements would be concluded in less than three months. The French community, after manifesting their lack of confidence that any agreements would secure their position in Tunisia, lapsed into silence after the French national assembly had agreed to Mendès-France's North African policy.

Neo Destour and Habib Bourguiba

The decree of 1938, which banned the Neo Destour as a political party, was rescinded on September 3 on the eve of the opening of the Franco-Tunisian negotiations in which two Neo Destourians were to represent Tunisia. The party has since then re-opened its branch offices in various parts of Tunisia and the ceremonies were made the occasion for demanding that the French should release all political prisoners and should stop harrying the fellagas, who were described as the Army of Liberation or Combatants for the Faith.

During July Bourguiba was moved from the Ile de Groix to the Chateau de la Ferté near Montargis, where he was within reasonable reach of Paris and was free to receive whom he liked. Early in October he was given permission to move freely inside France except in the departments of Seine and Seine et Oise. He then settled at Chantilly and the Neo Destour expressed the hope that France would not evade its responsibility for his safety. Early in August Bourguiba's interviews with the Press caused some disquiet, as he made it clear that he regarded Mendès-France's offer of home rule merely as a step to full independence. He later sought to explain that by independence he had meant something very like home rule, and once the negotiations got under way he made fewer pronouncements.

Public Order

After Mendès-France's visit to Tunis there was a stop to the terrorist incidents in the towns but in the country, although the fellagas were quiet for a few days, they showed no intention of dispersing and the French, having obtained sufficient reinforcements, began a drive to clear the Kef district and the Centre. There was a series of engagements in which the fellagas sustained fairly heavy casualties and between September 19 and the end of October they lost about 100 men killed, a similar number of wounded and about twenty-five taken prisoner as against some ten killed and twenty wounded amongst the French forces. This may be compared with the period from March 20 to September 18 when the fellagas lost seventy-one killed, twenty-three wounded and fifty-two prisoners and the French had thirty-seven killed and fifty wounded.

The nationalist demands for a lifting of the state of seige and for a general amnesty for political prisoners were met by the French statement that order must be restored first and by the release, when the Franco-Tunisian negotiations started early in September, of about four hundred prisoners and the lifting of restrictions on those who were already conditionally liberated.

A slight recrudescence of terrorist acts early in October drew from the Tunisian Government a statement condemning all individual acts of terrorism. They would not, however, make any statement about the fellagas and Masmoudi, in a public statement, likened the fellagas to the French maquisards.

Labour

The reaction of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens to the Mendès-France offer was to demand that the state of siege should be raised in Tunisia, that all political prisoners should be released, that the murderers of Farhat Hached and Hedi Chaker should be brought to trial, that sanctions against strikers should be dropped and that the conventions should be subject to ratification by a freely elected Tunisian national assembly. At their national congress held in the last week of September the U.G.T.T. added the demand that the French troops should cease operations against the fellaga and be withdrawn to strategic points, that the military government in the South should be ended and that the land should be restored to the Tunisians.

There was a series of small strikes, five in the last month, amongst the miners in the phosphate mines, which appear to have been mainly political in origin.

Economic

The economic situation showed little improvement and there was an increase in unemployment.

At the opening of the Tunis International Trade Fair Hedi Nouira, the Tunisian Minister of Commerce, devoted his speech to the need for a planned economy and for a return of confidence to attract capital investment.

Press

In October the Resident General suspended the publication of *Az Zitouna*, the Arab student paper, for one week and *Tunisie-France* for forty-eight hours. The editor of *Al Akkbar* was given a suspended sentence of six months and fined 600,000 francs for articles tending to undermine the morale of the French forces.

October 30, 1954.

BIOLOGICAL NOTES

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No. 39

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TUNISIA

Mr. Williams to Mr. Eden. (*Received August 2*)

British Consulate-General,
Tunis,
July 15, 1954.

(No. 48. Confidential)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on the leading personalities in Tunisia, amended to June 30, 1954.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Tunisia

INDEX

1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni
2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el
3. Ammar, Taher ben
4. Baccouche, Salahaddine Ben Mohamed
5. Badra, Mohamed
6. Belkhiria, Taieb
7. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader
8. Blanchard, André
9. Boisseson, Robert Barbara de Labelotterie de
10. Boudali, Nouri
11. Bouhajeb, Ali
12. Bourguiba Maître Farid
13. Bourguiba, Maître Habib
14. Brunet, Louis
15. Chadly Bey, Prince
16. Chenik, M'hamed
17. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie
18. Colonna, Antoine
19. Denguizli, M'hamed
20. Djait, Abdelaziz
21. Djaziri, Sadok
22. Djellouli, Azziz
23. Djellouli, Habib
24. Dupoizat, Georges
25. Duran-Angliviel, Maître André
26. Essadok, Bey, Prince Mohamed
27. Ferhat, Maître Saleh
28. Fraissé, Gaston
29. Gantés, Henri
30. Garde, Colonel
31. Ghachem, M'hamed
32. Guillebon, Colonel Jacques de
33. Hadjouj, Mohamed ben Younes
34. Haydar, General Chadly
35. Jozan, Vice-Amiral
36. Kaak, Mustapha
37. Khalifa, Salah ben
38. Lakdar, Tahar
39. Lamine Pasha Bey, His Highness Sidi Mohamed, Bey of Tunis
40. Latour du Moulin, General Boyer de
41. Maoui, General Taher
42. Masmoudi, Brahim Abdallah
43. Materi, Dr. Mahmud
44. Mathieu, Jean
45. Menchari, Abdelaziz
46. M'Zali, Mohamad Salah
47. Nizard, Maurice
48. Nouira, Hedi
49. Okbi, Maître Moncef el
50. Paye, Lucien
51. Perrussel, Maître Yves
52. Puaux, Gabriel
53. Rais, Hadi Ben
54. Romdane, Dr. Chedly ben
55. Saadallah, General Mohamed
56. Salem, Dr. Mohamed Ben
57. Slim, Mongi
58. Sliman, Dr. Sliman ben
59. Smadja, Dr. Henri
60. Tremsal, Dr.
61. Viguié, Raymond
62. Voizard, Pierre
63. Youssef, Maître Salah ben
64. Zaouche, Nourreddine

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1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni

Born about 1880. Tunisian notable. Intellectual and patron of Tunisian art and letters. Minister of State in Baccouche Ministry, 1943 to July 1947. Made honorary Minister of State. Tunisian delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting at Florence in 1950 and Istanbul in 1951. Elected Associate Member of the Royal Institute of Egypt in February 1951.

2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el

Born about 1895. Minister of Labour in the Government of Mustapha Kaak—July 1947 to August 1950.

3. Ammar, Taher ben

Born about 1905. Was President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, until that assembly ceased to exist in December 1951. Landowner and leading merchant. President of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture.

4. Baccouche, Salahaddine Ben Mohamed

Born at Tunis in 1883. Member of old family of Beni Khair. Related to the present Bey. Widely respected, genial elder statesman. Educated at Lycée Carnot. From 1904 to 1941 in local administrative service, ending as Caid of Sousse. On liberation of Tunisia appointed Prime Minister on 15th May, 1943, in which position he served until 1947. Made honorary Prime Minister. Again Prime Minister between 28th March, 1952, and 2nd March, 1954, when he was made Government Counsellor.

5. Badra, Mohamed

Born in 1900 at Tunis. Educated at the Sadiki College, the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and in France

(literature). Civil servant in Administration, later in Ministry of Justice and subsequently in charge of the Secretariat of the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture of North Tunisia. In 1943 was in charge of the "cabinet" of Prime Minister Chenik. In 1948 appointed administrator of the Banque de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie.

Entered second Chenik Government in August 1950, as Minister for Social Affairs. Was in Paris with Prime Minister in October–December 1951 to discuss Tunisian problem with French Government. On 13th January, 1952, went again to Paris with Saleh ben Youssef this time to lay complaint against France before the United Nations. On removal and dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik at the end of March 1952, Badra left Paris suddenly with ben Youssef and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present, with Saleh ben Youssef, at United Nations meeting at New York in October–November 1952, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo.

6. Belkhiria, Taieb

Born 1889. Expert Arab and French scholar. Since 1910 has filled various administration posts in the Tunisian governmental service; and since 1943 has been one of the heads in the Ministry of State. Minister of State in Baccouche Government, 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of State. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

7. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader

Born about 1903. Minister of Agriculture in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. On ceasing to hold office was made honorary Minister of Agriculture by the Bey, and appointed a representative to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation—a selection strongly criticised by the nationalists with whom he was unpopular. Minister of Agriculture in the Mzali Ministry 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

8. Blanchard, André

French official. Director of Postal Services. Born 1906. Educated at Lycée, St. Louis, and Ecole Polytechnique. Entered Department of Post, Telephones and Telegraphs and served at Paris and Nancy. Appointed to Tunis in 1953. Married. Is Chevalier of Légion d'Honneur.

9. Boisseson, Robert Barbara de Labelotterie de

Born 1905. In French Foreign Service since 1930 has served at Warsaw, in China, Japan and at the Holy See whence he was appointed to Tunisia as Minister delegate. Agreeable and helpful.

10. Boudali, Nouri

Born about 1916. Trade union leader. Succeeded the late Farhat Hached as secretary of the U.G.T.T. in 1953. Previously employed in Public Health Department.

11. Bouhajeb, Ali

Born about 1895. Minister of Public Health in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. Member of a leading Tunisian family (see Salah ben Khalifa). Tunisian delegate to World Health Organisation, 1952.

12. Bourguiba, Maître Farid

Lawyer, journalist. Banished to his native place, Beja, for a period in the summer of 1951 for scurrilous articles against General Juin over Moroccan question.

13. Bourguiba, Maître Habib

Born at Monastir in 1903. Educated at the Sadiki College, Tunis, and in France where studied law. Admitted to Tunisian bar in 1930. Leader of Destour nationalist party; spent a number of years abroad in Egypt and France. Married to a French lady. After split of Destour party into Néo- and Vieux-, became secretary-general of stronger and more influential Néo-Destour nationalists in 1934 and President during the war. Has been interned by French from time to time since 1934. Visited United States at the end of 1946 and returned to Tunis from Egypt in September 1949. Is prepared to negotiate with French and accept reforms leading to internal autonomy as stage on road to complete independence. Is nevertheless ready to recognise special relationship between Tunisia and France. By temperament is somewhat *exalté*; an ideologist, self-important. In 1950 was the recipient of marks of high consideration by the Bey.

In spring and summer of 1951 made prolonged tour of a political character—Egypt, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Italy, United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States. In the United Kingdom and the United States made speeches, broadcasts and gave press interviews that aroused strong comment amongst the French. Was later refused entry into Morocco. Early in January 1952 returned from Paris to Tunis where on 18th January was arrested upon the orders of the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, on grounds of having by violent speeches encouraged outbreaks of lawlessness by nationalist followers. Was sent to Tabarka with several other nationalist leaders, arrested at the same time, and at end of March, at the time of the dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik, was transferred to Remada in southern Tunisia. Was later transferred to the island of La Galite, thence in May 1954 to the Ile de Groix (Morbihan).

14. Brunet, Louis

Leading member of the *Rassemblement Français* or French residents in Tunisia. Was one of their two representatives ("senator") to the Council of the Republic, Paris. Ceased to hold this office in the summer of 1952, when Gabriel Puaux (*q.v.*) was elected in his place. The other, and senior, "senator" is Antoine Colonna (*q.v.*).

15. Chadly Bey, Prince

Born about 1909 (1328 A.H.). Eldest son of His Highness Lamine Pasha Bey, Bey of Tunis. Personable and prominent. Has taken a leading part in supporting nationalist aspirations and is credited with being one of his father's most influential advisers. In February 1951 appointed Director of the Personal Cabinet of the Bey, but was deprived in 1952 of this post when his personal relations with the Residency-General became very strained. He was later reinstated.

16. Chenik, M'hamed

Born in Tunis in 1890 of a family of "Chorfa," descended from the Prophet. Father and forebears important merchants. He himself, after secondary education, pursued his studies in commerce, specialising in economic and financial questions. Member of the Grand Conseil from its inauguration, and served as its secretary. In 1924 was elected President of the North Tunisian Chamber of Commerce; in 1925 Vice-President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, which post he occupied until 1943. Made Prime Minister in 1943 by then Bey, Moncef Pasha Bey, but he remained aloof from political life from the Liberation until called to be Prime Minister in August 1950. Widely respected, particularly for his loyal association with Moncef Bey, but has unimpressive personality. Is reputed to be a wealthy landowner. After prolonged negotiations with the Resident-General, M. Perillier, came to an agreement over a set of reforms which were promulgated on 8th February, 1951. Difficulties arose between French Administration and Tunisian Ministry with result that little progress made in implementation of reforms. Went to Paris in October 1951, bearer of note from the Bey to the President. Remained there, together with several of his Ministers, until nearly the end of December, when returned after receipt of French Government's reply of 15th December, 1951. This reply was regarded by him and Tunisian nationalists generally as most unsatisfactory. He maintained an unco-operative attitude towards the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, and was arrested, together with three other Ministers, on 26th-27th March, 1952, and removed to Kebili in south Tunisia. A successor, Salaheddine Baccouche, appointed as Prime Minister by the Bey. Was released, as were other members of his Cabinet, later in 1952 upon giving an undertaking not to interest himself further in politics.

17. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie

Born about 1902. Medical practitioner (dermatologist) also journalist. Is the federal secretary of the Tunisian Socialist Party. Has considerable local standing; is well known to French President, M. Vincent Auriol, by whom he was received on a recent visit to Paris. Writes leaders for the Socialist weekly *Fraternité en Tunisie*. Now known as *Tunis Socialiste*.

18. Colonna, Antoine

A Corsican. Leader of the party representing French vested interests in Tunisia, the *Rassemblement Français*. Is the senior of the two representatives ("senators") to the Conseil de la République, Paris, the other being Gabriel Puaux (*q.v.*). Is indefatigable in leading the Opposition to the introduction of reforms into Tunisia, especially in lobbying the Quai d'Orsay and other Government departments and political leaders in Paris.

19. Denguizli, M'hamed

Born 1899. Has filled various posts in the caidal service since 1926. Caid of Siliana, 1943 to 1952. Minister of Labour in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Labour. Is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'Honneur. Is brother-in-law to Taieb Belkhiria.

20. Djait, Abdelaziz

Born about 1905. Minister of Justice in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950.

21. Djaziri, Sadok

Appointed Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry in April 1952.

Born 1899. Expert Arab and French languages. Professor of law and eminent jurists, who has held several judicial appointments. Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Justice. Is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

22. Djellouli, Azziz

Born about 1897. Formerly a member of the caidal service. Cheikh el Medina in Tunis in 1935 and 1939 and later Minister of Habous. Since the deposition of Moncef Bey in 1943 he has lived in retirement.

23. Djellouli, Habib

Formerly Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry to July 1947. Then made honorary Minister of Justice.

24. Dupoizat, Georges

Born in 1909. Former officer of Saint-Maizent. Studied law and Arabic, in both of which he holds diplomas. Served for several years in Morocco in bureau of native affairs. Entered prefectural service. Has Légion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre and Resistance Medal. Was Préfet at Belfort, when appointed to succeed Raymond Pons as secretary-general to the Tunisian Government in March 1953.

25. Duran-Angliviel, Maître André

Lawyer, journalist, politician. Has been in Tunisia since 1905. Before that was a Protestant pastor in France. Is a strong partisan of Tunisian nationalism. Has also strong socialist views, verging on communism. Himself declares he is not Communist, but a sympathiser. Wrote leading article about thrice weekly for *Le Petit Matin*, but discontinued this in March 1952 when official censorship introduced. Strongly opposed to nationalist campaign of violence and outrage. He resumed writing in November 1953, when the censorship was lifted but owing to ill-health he retired to France in 1954. Very intelligent, able, and mordant writer.

26. Essadok Bey, Prince Mohamed

Born 17th March, 1888. Son of Mustapha Bey. Succeeded as Bey du Camp (next in succession to the Beylical throne) on the 5th July, 1953, upon the assassination of his elder brother Prince Azzuddine Bey on the 1st July, 1953. Not a prominent political figure; believed to be anti-Néo-Destour but not (unlike his late brother) Francophil.

27. Ferhat, Maître Saleh

Former Minister of Justice, President of the Vieux-Destour Party. Went to Paris in the autumn of 1951 to try to interest the United Nations in the Tunisian question.

28. Fraissé, Gaston

French official. Sous directeur in Finance Administration. Seconded to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Director of Finance in Tunisian Government since 1948.

29. Gantés, Henri

Born about 1910 in Egypt. Contrôleur Civil at Sfax, where, during the years 1940–42, he was assistant. Is friendly. Speaks English well and fluently.

30. Garde, Colonel

Born in 1903 at Tarare (Rhône). Colonel in French Air Force since 1948, commanded the French air base at Villacoublay until appointed in January 1953, to command the French air forces in Tunisia in succession to General Challe.

31. Ghachem, M'hamed

Born 1898. Educated as doctor in Tunisia and in France. Has practised his profession at Sousse for 26 years, and was a municipal counsellor there when appointed Minister of Health in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Health and Government Counsellor. Is a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur.

32. Guillebon, Colonel Jacques de

Army officer. Born in 1909. Served as Chief of Staff of General Le Clerc. Commandant des Territoires du Sud with headquarters at Gabès.

33. Hadjouj, Mohamed ben Younes

Born 1895 at La Goulette. Son of General Younes Hadjouj. Honorary Ministre de la Plume. Educated in Tunis and at the Faculté de Médecine, Paris. Is one of the Bey's private physicians. Connected by

1922. Directeur de Cabinet of resident-general M. Lucien Saint in Tunisia and Morocco. 1932–41 served as prefect in France. Directeur du Cabinet of Ministry of Interior, Morocco to 1943. Volunteered for Free French Army and served in Italy. After the war he was Directeur de Cabinet of Défense Nationale and then served for five years in French element of Control Commission for Austria. 1950 appointed Minister of State in Municipality of Monaco. Appointed resident-general in Tunisia, September 1953.

On arrival in Tunisia successfully set about improving relations between Residency and Palace and introduced various measures of détente, such as release of detainees and abolition of press censorship. After secret negotiations with Bey and the substitution of Mzali Ministry for Baccouche, introduced a programme of reforms on 4th March, 1954, which alarmed French community without satisfying Nationalists. The renewed outbreak of civil unrest caused by bandits and terrorists and measures for restoring order were taken in May and June 1954. Is criticised by French community as being over-favourable to Tunisian point of view. Is pleasant and friendly, if somewhat reserved, and professes to favour empirical methods.

63. Youssef, Maître Salah ben

Born at Djerba in 1909. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and the Faculty of Law, Paris where he was *licencié* in 1933. In 1934 he took to politics, joining the Néo-Destour Party whose secretary-general he became in 1945 on the departure of Habib Bourguiba (*q.v.*) for Egypt. He entered the second Chenik Government in August 1950 as Minister of Justice, a political development of significance in view of Maître Salah ben Youssef's prominence in the Néo-Destour Party. One of the more active of the Ministerial group that aided Prime Minister Chenik in negotiations with the resident-general in 1950 and early 1951. In autumn of 1951 was in Paris with Chenik for purpose of pursuing Tunisian question with the French Government. On 13th January, 1951, left with Badra for Paris to endeavour to bring the Tunisian question before the United Nations. On the removal and dismissal of Chenik at the end of March 1952 Youssef left Paris suddenly with Badra and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present with Mohamed Badra at United Nations meeting at New York, October–November 1952 and 1953, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo. Toured India, Ceylon and Indonesia in spring 1954.

64. Zaouche, Nourreddine

Born Tunis 1908. Educated at Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and obtained a diploma as chemist in Paris. Former president of Tunis Chemists Guild.

Minister of Housing and Town Planning in Mzali Ministry, 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.